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EDITED BY

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A. A. A. FYZEE
N. K. BHAGWAT

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CHANDAŚŚEKHARA OF RĀJAŚEKHARA KAVI

(CHAPTER V ONLY)

By H. D. VELANKAR

INTRODUCTION

Rājaśekhara's Chandaśśekhara is a work written in Sanskrit on Sanskrit, Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres. It consists of five chapters, the first four of which deal with Sanskrit and Prākṛta metres, while the fifth treats of the Apabhraṁśa metres. At the beginning of the fifth chapter however, three strophic metres, namely, Dvipadīkhaṇḍa, Dvibhaṅgikā and Tribhaṅgikā as also the two Śiraṣakas, Sama and Viṣama, are given, after which the regular Apabhraṁśa metres are commenced. In the following pages I am publishing only the fifth chapter, because this alone is at present available. The only MS. of this chapter written on palm leaves, exists at the Bada Bhandar of Jesalmir in Bundle No. 238. A copy of this was procured and presented to me by Muni Sri Jinavijayaji of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhuvan with his usual kindness and generosity. The MS. consists of pp. 44 to 51 only, the first 43 pages which contained the earlier chapters being untraced at least for the present. Dalal's Catalogue does not mention this MS. among the other MSS. on Prosody in Bundle No. 238 and it is very likely that it was not there originally. It must have been brought there by some one who wanted to inspect only this chapter on Apabhraṁśa metres; but in the process of procuring what he wanted, he has separated the poor MS. from its parent. My Jinaratnakośa mentions a MS. of Chandaśśekhara of Rājaśekhara; it exists at the Jain Bhandar of Bhāṇṭhki Kundi at Jesalmir itself. Perhaps this must be the original place where our MS. belongs. Our MS. is 12½ × 1⅛ inches in size; each page contains 6 lines, and each line contains on an average 60 letters.

The author of this work is Rājaśekhara Kavi who was a Jain layman. He mentions Yaśa, Lāhaṭa and Duddaka of the Ṭhakkura family as his great-grandfather, grandfather and father respectively. Nāgadevī was his mother's name. We are told in the concluding stanza that this work was very much liked by Bhojadeva. If this Bhojadeva is identified with Bhojadeva of Dhara who ruled between 1005 and 1054 A.D., Rājaśekhara must have lived in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Our MS. was written at Chitor in Saṁ. 1179.

Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana which was composed after his Śabdānuśāsana and Kāvyānuśasana during the early years of King Kumārapāla's reign, is surely later than Chandaśśekhara. But Rājaśekhara seems to have known and used Svayambhū's Chandas, which is the oldest systematic work on Apabhraṁśa Prosody. Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya is no doubt older than Svayambhū, but its treatment is not very systematic, nor does it contain special information about Apabhraṁśa metres. It only knows two Apabhraṁśa metres, namely Mātrā and Dohā, which are the oldest among them. Svayambhū, on the other hand, entirely neglects the pure Prākṛta metres like the Gāthā, the Galitakas and the Śirṣakas, but devotes the major portion of his work to the Apabhraṁśa metres. Of the strophes he mentions only the Raḍḍā which is made up of a Mātrā and a Dohā, both of which are Apabhraṁśa metres. Out of the 8 chapters of Svayambhū's work, the first 3 are devoted to Sanskrit metres, i.e. Varṇa Vṛttas, while the last 5 are taken up by the Apabhraṁśa metres. Among the known writers, he is the first to classify them under three broad heads, namely Ṣaṭpadī, Catuṣpadī and Dvipadī. Under Catuṣpadī, however, only shorter Catuṣpadīs having from 10 to 16 or 17 Mātrās in a line are admitted, the longer ones along with a few Dvipadīs and Ṣaṭpadīs being separately treated owing to their special importance. Thus Svayambhū devotes Ch. 5 to Ṣaṭpadī, Ch. 6 to Antarasamā Catuṣpadī (vv. 1 to 150), Sarvasamā Catuṣpadī with 10 to 17 Mātrās in a line (vv. 153 to 161), and Sama Dvipadīs containing from 28 to 40 Mātrās in a line with different varieties of each caused merely by the change in the position of the Yati (vv. 163 to 203), and Ch. 7 to Sama Dvipadīs which contain from 4 to 10 Mātrās in a line. But he separately defines in Ch. 4 Utsāha, Dvipathaka or Dohaka with its two varieties Upadohaka and Apadohaka, Maḍilā, Aḍilā, Prahelikā, Hṛdayālikā, Dhavalas of three kinds and Maṅgala. In the case of the last eight Svayambhū explains how most of them were generally used as common names applied to metres of different length and structure. In Ch. 8, he defines Utthakka, Madanāvatāra, Dhruvaka, Chaḍḍanikās of 7 kinds, Ghattās of 3 kinds and lastly the Paddhatikā. In conclusion, he mentions some metres which are usually employed at the beginning of a Sandhi, and among them he mentions the Dvipadī of four lines and the Gāthā. It is clear that the metres defined by Svayambhū in Chs. 4 and 8 were the hot favourites of the Apabhraṁśa poets for a long time. A few of the Antarasamās and one or two Ṣaṭpadīs were selected by them as Ghattās or Chaḍḍanikās so named when they stood at the beginning or the end of a Sandhi or a Kaḍavaka. But in course of time a convention was established which is first mentioned by Rājaśekhara (R., V, 32-33) and then by Hemacandra (H., VI, 3) and according to which Catuṣpadīs and Ṣaṭpadīs came to be called Chaḍḍanikās when they stood at the end of a Kaḍavaka and completed its topic. On the other hand, the older convention about the names Dhruvā and Ghattā which were given to a Ṣaṭpadī, Catuṣpadī or Dvipadī when it stood at the beginning or the end of a Sandhi or of a Kaḍavaka, is known even to Svayambhū (SB., V, 1) and mentioned also by Rājaśekhara (R., V, 28) and Hemacandra (H., VI, 1-2). It is probably this conventional practice of the Apabhraṁśa poets which must have led the theorist-Metricians to classify the Apabhraṁśa metres under the three heads. Nanditāḍhya, who is earlier than Rājaśekhara but later than Virabhāṅka, does not know this division. He professes to be an enemy of Apabhraṁśa, yet in the available MSS. of his work, definitions of about six old Apabhraṁśa metres, namely Paddhatikā, Madanāvatāra, Dvipadī (of four lines with 28 Mātrās in each), Vastuka, Sārdhacchandas or Kāvya and Dohā are found. It is, however, doubtful whether these formed part of the original work of Nanditāḍhya. Of the strophes which evidently were much liked and employed by the Prākṛta poets as is seen from the Vṛttajātisamuccaya, Svayambhū and Rājaśekhara mention only one namely the Raḍḍā. But Hemacandra knows some others especially the Sārdhacchandas,

otherwise known as Kāvya or Ṣaṭpada. Hemacandra, however, does not give them any special names, calling them all by the general names Dvibhaṅgī and Tribhaṅgī. They were becoming more and more popular with the Apabhraṁśa poets of later times and we find that Kavidarpaṇa, Prākṛta Paiṅgala and Chandaḥkośa mention a number of them.

Rājaśekhara very closely follows Svayambhū's classification and arrangement, so much so that sometimes his verses appear to be mere Sanskrit versions of Svayambhū's Prākṛta stanzas. In vv. 7–26 he defines the same metres and in the same order as are defined by Svayambhū in Ch. 4, adding only two more namely Vastuvadanaka (v. 17) and Bhramaradhavala (v. 24). He next defines Ṣaṭpadīs in vv. 30 to 34, Antarasamā Catuṣpadīs in vv. 37 to 164, Sarvasamā Catuṣpadīs of 10 to 17 Mātrās in a line in vv. 165 to 174, longer Dvipadīs of 28 to 40 Mātrās in a line in vv. 175 to 224 and lastly shorter Dvipadīs of 4 to 10 Mātrās in a line in vv. 227 to 236. This is exactly the order in which these same metres are defined by Svayambhū in Chs. 5 to 7 as seen above. Even in the treatment of the Antarasamās, Rājaśekhara closely follows Svayambhū's plan while Hemacandra differs from both in his arrangement. In respect of some of the names of the Antarasamās, however, Rājaśekhara follows some other tradition which differs from the one known to Svayambhū.

Hemacandra too, closely follows this classification and arrangement, but he makes some more additions and improvements of a minor character. Thus among the special metres he introduces about 14 additional ones between Utsāha and Mātrā and 3 more between Mātrā and Vadanaka, in the scheme adopted by Svayambhū in Ch. 4. He drops Dohā and its varieties from this place, pushing them rightly to their proper place among the Antarasamā Catuṣpadīs, but mentions Rāsa (V. 16) which is virtually the same as Rāvaṇahastaka (VI. 19, 9). Similarly at the end of Ch. V which treats of these special metres, he mentions two more names Phullaḍaka and Jhambaṭaka which seem to be unknown to Svayambhū and Rājaśekhara. Hereafter, however, he closely follows Svayambhū and defines Ṣaṭpadīs (VI. 1–17), Antarasamā Catuṣpadīs (VI. 19–21), Sarvasamā Catuṣpadīs of 10 to 17 Mātrās in a line (VI. 22–31), longer Dvipadīs of 28 to 40 Mātrās in a line (VII. 1–57) and shorter Dvipadīs of 4 to 10 Mātrās in a line (VII. 58–73).

This classification and arrangement which are consistently followed by Svayambhū, Rājaśekhara and Hemacandra, are given up by later writers on Apabhraṁśa metres. We know only three important writers whose works are available to us today, after Hemacandra. They are Kavidarpaṇa, Prākṛta Paiṅgala and Chandaḥkośa. Of these Kavidarpaṇa is the earliest. It follows quite a different plan even though in some respects it seems to have closely studied Hemacandra's work. The author of Kavidarpaṇa divides the Apabhraṁśa metres under eleven heads in accordance with the number of lines which a stanza or a strophe contains. Thus he begins with Dvipadī of which he defines only three, namely the two Ullālas and Mauktikadāma. Under Catuṣpadīs he includes even Gāthā and its varieties along with Dohā, Pādākulaka, Madanāvatāra, Dvipadī and others. The Pañcapadī is the Mātrā, while Ṣaṭpadi includes only six varieties of the Ghattā which seem to have been prominently used by the bards in actual practice. Under Ṣaṭpadī some strophes also are defined. Saptapadī, Aṣṭapadī, Navapadī, Daśapadī, Ekādaśapadī, Dvādaśapadī and Ṣoḍaśapadī are all strophes except the Aṣṭapadī Śrīdhavala. In defining the Prākṛta, Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa metres, the author of Kavidarpaṇa has evidently made a selection from the existing practice of the poets. This is further carried out by the next two writers namely the authors of Prākṛta Paiṅgala and Chandaḥkośa. There is a close resemblance between the two works which I have discussed in my introduction to the above mentioned edition of the latter. They too do not resort to the threefold division of Apabhraṁśa metres, even though

they treat of only the Apabhraṁśa metres and probably of those that were generally adopted by the poets in their actual practice. Unlike Svayambhū, however, they define the Gāthā and its derivatives from the Prākṛta metres. That the Apabhraṁśa poets and metricians were against too much of classification and distinction is also shown by the fact that they often give the same names to many metres which differ from each other both in length and structure. Such names are Aḍilā, Kāvya, Khañjaka, Galitaka, Jhambaṭaka, Dhavala, Prahelikā, Phullaḍaka, Maṅgala, Maḍilā, Rāsa, Vadanaka, Vastu, Vastuka, Vastuvadanaka, Śīrṣaka and Hṛdayālika. They do not refer to the metrical structure of the stanza but to some extraneous feature.

राजशेखरकृतः छन्दःशेखरः ।

पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

N.B.—One or more letters put within the brackets represent the correct form of the corresponding number of letter or letters immediately preceding the brackets. When the mistake of the scribe of the MS. is not very obvious, I have put an *r.* (= read) before such letters. A sign of addition before the letters within brackets shows that they have to be added to complete the sense, being probably dropped by the scribe through oversight. One or more signs of subtraction within brackets show that an equal number of letters immediately preceding the brackets have to be dropped, being probably added by the scribe of the MS. through oversight. Like Hemacandra and Svayambhū, our author uses the terms ष, प, च, त (always written as ट in my copy but corrected to त by me) and द in his definitions to represent groups of 6, 5, 4, 3 and 2 Mātrās, respectively. The copy, evidently following the MS., always writes तृ for त्र and sometimes drops an obvious Visarga. I have corrected both mistakes, but otherwise I have tried to follow my copy faithfully.—H. D. V.

द्विगुणो यद्यवलम्बकः ।
क्रियते गीतिनिधनको द्विपदीखण्डं तदा वदन्ति बुधाः ॥ १ ॥
प्रथमं बध्यते द्विपदिका पश्चाद्गीतिर्विरच्यते ।
एषा द्विभङ्गिका भवेदन्यास्तु यथेप्सितैः रूपकैः स्युः ॥ २ ॥
यद्यवलम्बकस्य मुखतो द्विपदी निधनेऽथ गीतिका ।
पूर्वाचार्यसमास(r. समी-)रिता
एषोच्यते त्रिभङ्गिका त्वपराः प्राहुर्यथेप्सित(r. तैः)रूपैः ॥ ३ ॥
पथ्या(r. श्चा)र्धवर्जितं गायस्यार्या(r. द्या)र्धं तु वर्धते स्वेच्छया ।
चकारगणैः पादेषु चतुर्षु यदि समैरेवांशैः सर्वैस्तान्तैः
कथितं तत्समशीर्षकम् ॥ ४ ॥
मालागलितकक्रमान्ते यदा चकारगणका द्विवृद्धया(द्धया) भवन्ति ।
सर्वे गणाः विषमसंख्यया स्थिता विषमशीर्षकं तत् ॥ ५ ॥

किं लक्षणेन बहुना यत्क्रियते किमपि खञ्जकं दीर्घम् ।
तच्छीर्षकमिति कथितं द्विपदीखण्डानि सर्वाणि ॥ ६ ॥

शीर्षकप्रकरणम् ।

यत्प्राकृतसंस्कृतयोः सारं तस्यात्र लक्ष्यलक्षणं गदितम् ।
प्रायोऽस्तोऽपभ्रंशे समुच्यमानं निशृणुत संक्षेपेण ॥ ७ ॥
उत्साहे षडजचाः शिखीष्टो(ष्वो)स्तु यो(जो) लनौ वा ॥ ८ ॥
युजीना अयुजि मनुमात्राः । दोहको द्विपथको वा ॥ ९ ॥
अयुजोः क्रमयोर्द्वादश । चतुर्दश युज्यु(r. ज्य)पदोहके ॥ १० ॥
अयुजोस्त्रयोदश युजोस्तु । द्वादशा(r. शो)पदोहक इति ॥ ११ ॥
पञ्चांह्रयः सर्वमात्राः स्यु- । स्त्रिचकारास्तत्र युजोः ॥
त्रिषमपादेषु त्रिषु पौ चदौ ।
तृतीयपञ्चमयोर्यदि । पादयोर्मध्यदस्तृतीयचः ॥ १२ ॥
द्वितीयचतुर्थतदुभयांह्रिषु । प्रथमप(r. पः) चयोर्यदा स्यात् ।
तदंह्र्यादिका मत्तबालिका ।
मत्तमधुकरी तद्वत् । तृतीयत्रिकलये(r. के)षु भण्यते ॥ १३ ॥
पञ्चमे चरणे तृतीये वा । द्वयोरथवा मुखे चौ ।
तदंह्र्यादिका मत्तविलासिनी ।
अथ यत्र य(पस्) त्रिधाऽपि । स्यात् तद्वदियं मत्तकरिणी ॥ १४ ॥
या विमिश्रैः सर्वरूपैः स्यात् । सा भण्यते बहुरूपा ।
भवेदासां दोहकोऽन्ते तु ।
रड्डि(r. ड्डु)षा वस्त्वथवा । भवति प्रसिद्धनवचरणा ॥ १५ ॥
षचौ चदौ चरणेषु वदनकम् ॥ १६ ॥
षचौ चतौ स्यातामुपवदनके ॥ १७ ॥
षचलद(+ल)चपै(षै)र्वस्तुवदनकं कार्पटिकोक्तिषु ॥ १८ ॥
उत्साहार्थेऽमुना चैव वण्ठेनोत्साहादि(+भि)र्भुवि ।
बन्दिभिः पठ्यते यद्यत् तत्तद्वदनकं विदुः ॥ १९ ॥
वदनकप्रभृतेः क्रमयोर्यमकेऽन्तगे मडिला ।
मिथश्चतुर्षु पुनः क्रमेषु सा स्यादियमडिला ॥ २० ॥
उन्मानकार्थसंबद्धैर्दोहिकाद्यैः प्रहेलिका ।
हृद्गतार्थैर्भवेद्वर्णैः शून्यैस्तु हृदयालिका ॥ २१ ॥
धवलनिभ(भे)न पुमान्वर्ण्यो । यस्मात्तस्माद्धवलम् ।
तदष्टषट्चतुरंह्रि मतम् । पादेष्टांह्रौ त्रिचदाः ॥
आद्यतृतीये; त्रिचाः । द्वितीयतुर्ये ; चौत् ॥

पञ्चमसप्तमके तु ;। षडा(ड)ष्टभे द्वौ चौत् ॥ २२ ॥
धवले छन्दसि षट्चरणे। ज्ञेयौ पादौ।
प्रथमचतुर्थौ षगणषदगणैः। द्वितीयपञ्चमौ तु चाभ्याम्।
तृतीयषष्ठे षाभ्यां ष(r. च)गणः। स्याद्य(त्प)गणो वा ॥ २३ ॥
चतुरंह्रौ धवले स्याताम्। षड्विधै(r. द्विचै)र्मुखतृतीयौ चरणौ।
द्वैतीप्यी(r. यी)कतुर्यचरणे। षद्विचकाराद् भो(r. तो) वा दो वा ॥ २४ ॥
अयुजोश्चर(+ण)याः(योः) षचटाः(r. ताः)। युजोः षचौ भ्रमरे ॥ २५ ॥
मङ्गलार्थरचितं यच्छन्दस्तद्बुधैः।
बहुमङ्गलमा(r. मि+त्या)ख्यातं तत्राद्ययोः ॥
क्रमयोः षत्रिचकाराश्चाः पञ्चापरयोस्तु।
चत्वारोऽप्यंह्रयस्तु तान्ता दान्ता वास्य ॥ २६ ॥
उत्साहहेलावदनाडिलाद्यैर्यद्गीयते मङ्गलवाचि किंचित् ॥
तद्रूपकाणामभिधानपूर्वं। छन्दोविदो मङ्गलमामनन्ति ॥ २७ ॥
तैरैव धवलव्याजात्पुरुषः स्तूयते यदि।
तद्वदेव तदानेको धवलोऽप्यभिधीयते ॥ २८ ॥

—उत्साहादिप्रकरणम् ॥

ध्रुवोऽन्ताद्योः प्रयोगोऽस्याः काव्यसन्धिष्विति ध्रुवा।
षट्पदी चतुरंह्रिश्च द्विपदी चेति सा त्रिधा ॥ २९ ॥
दशादिकलाः। मुनिदशान्ताः। तृतीयषष्ठक्रमयोर्भवेयुः ॥
षट्पदीयम्। शेषांह्रिषु तु। सप्ताष्टनवधा मात्राः क्रमेण ॥ ३० ॥
षट्पदजातौ। मात्रा भवन्ति। सप्त पादचतुष्टये ॥
उपजातौ स्युः। मात्रा अष्टौ। अवजातौ नव स्मृताः ॥ ३१ ॥
सप्ताद्याः कलाः। दशादिभिर्युताः। प्रत्येकमष्टधा भूत्वा ॥
षट्पदीं कुर्युः। छन्दःशेखरे। चतुर्विंशतिभेदां ध्रुवाम् ॥ ३२ ॥
घत्ता अथवा छड्डुणिकाः। छन्दोविद्भिः प्रोच्यन्ते।
यदि चः(?) पद्यार्धयोः पुरः। मात्राधिको(कौ) तृतीयांह्री ॥
नानाभ्यूह्यायुधैस्तथा ॥ ३३ ॥
चतुःपद्यस्तन्नामानः। प्रथमद्वितीयचतुर्थषष्ठे।
कला कलास्तृतीयपञ्चमे च। त्रयोदशैव छड्डुणी ॥ ३४ ॥

—षट्पदजातिप्रकरणम् ॥

अन्तरार्धसमे सर्वसमेति स्त्रि(r. त्रि)श्चतुष्पदी।
तुल्यौजा तुल्ययुग्मांह्रिस्तत्रान्तरसमा भवेत् ॥ ३५ ॥

ओजे सप्त समेष्टाद्या मात्राः सप्तदशावधि ।
दशैव स्युः क्रमाद् भेदास्तथांह्रिव्यत्ययादपि ॥ ३६ ॥

तथाहि—

विषमे सप्त । युजि चरणेऽष्टौ ॥
कला भवन्ति । चम्पककुसुमे ॥ ३७ ॥
क्रमव्यत्यये । सुमनोरमा ॥ ३८ ॥
औ(ओ)जे सप्त । समे चरणे नव ॥
लक्षणमिदम् । किल सामुद्र(r. ग)के ॥ ३९ ॥
पादव्यत्यये । पङ्कजं स्यात् ॥ ४० ॥
असमे सप्त । दश मात्रा द्विचदैः ।
समे चरणे । मल्हणकस्य मताः ॥ ४१ ॥
चरणव्यत्ययः(r. य+तः) । कुञ्जरं वद ॥ ४२ ॥
विषमे सप्त । युज्येकादश कलाः ।
वदन्ति बुधाः । अत्र सुभगविलासे ॥ ४३ ॥
चरणविपर्यये सति । मदनातुरः ॥ ४४ ॥
सप्त विषमे । द्वादश समे केसरम् ॥ ४५ ॥
अस्य चरणव्यत्यये । भ्रमरावली ॥ ४६ ॥
सप्तासमे । द्वितीयतुर्ये त्रयोदश ।
लक्षणमिदम् । गदितं रावणमस्तके ॥ ४७ ॥
चरणविपर्यासतो वद । पङ्कजश्रीः ॥ ४८ ॥
सप्तायुजोः । समयोश्चरणयोश्चतुर्दश ।
प्राज्ञैरिदम् । सिंहविजृम्भितं निगदितम् ॥ ४९ ॥
अस्य चरणे(ण)विपर्यये सति । किङ्क(ङ्किक)णीं वद ॥ ५० ॥
सप्तौजयोः । युजोः पञ्चदश मकरन्दिका ॥ ५१ ॥
कृतिभिरुक्ता कुङ्कुमललिता । विपर्ययेण ॥ ५२ ॥
अयुजि गिरयः । युग्मे षोडश मधुकरललितम् ॥ ५३ ॥
पादव्यत्यये शशिशेखरम् । कृती जगाद ॥ ५४ ॥
अयुजि मुनयः । समेऽत्र चरणे सप्तदश मात्राः ।
एतल्लक्ष्म । चम्पककुसुमावर्तं प्रकथितम् ॥ ५५ ॥
लीलालयः पदविपर्यये सति । चतपदैरिति ॥ ५६ ॥
मुनिकु(क)लोत्क्रमे भेदा विंशतिर्द्विप्रकारे ॥ ५७ ॥
अष्टौजयोर्नवाद्यास्तु युजोः सप्तदशान्तिकाः ।
मात्राः पादविपर्यासादेषाष्टादशधा भवेत् ॥ ५८ ॥

अष्टौ विषमे । नव मात्राः समे ।
चतुष्पदीयम् । मणिरत्नप्रभा ॥ ५९ ॥
वद चन्द्रभा(r. हा)सम् । चल(र)नोत्क्रमेण ॥ ६० ॥
विषमेऽष्ट युजि । त्रयो(--)दश कुङ्कुमतिलके ॥ ६१ ॥
गोरोचना मता । पदव्यत्यये ॥ ६२ ॥
अयुजि क्रमेऽष्ट । युज्येकादश कलाः ।
धीरैरभाणि । चम्पककेसरोऽयम् ॥ ६३ ॥
कुसुमबाणमिदं स्यात् । क्रमविपर्यये ॥ ६४ ॥
ओजेऽष्ट कलाः । युजि रवयः क्रीडनकम् ॥ ६५ ॥
मालतीकुसुमं भवेत् । क्रमोत्क्रमे सति ॥ ६६ ॥
ओजेऽष्ट युजि तु । बकुलामोदस्त्रयोदश ॥ ६७ ॥
नागकेसरं प्रगदितम् । क्रमविपर्यये ॥ ६८ ॥
असमेऽष्ट युजि तु । त्रयो(r. चतुर्)दश मन्मथतिलकमिति ॥ ६९ ॥
नवचम्पकमाला भणिता । पादोत्क्रमेण ॥ ७० ॥
अयुज्यथ(ष्ट) युजि । पञ्चदश तु मालाविलसितम् ॥ ७१ ॥
चरणविपर्यासतः क्रियते । विद्याघरो हि ॥ ७२ ॥
अयुजोरष्टौ । युजोस्तु षोडश पुण्यामलका(r. कम्) ॥ ७३ ॥
क्रमव्यत्ययेन कृतं कविना । कुब्जककुसुमम् ॥ ७४ ॥
ओजेऽष्ट युजि तु । सप्तदश नवकुसुमितपल्लवस्य ॥ ७५ ॥
पादविपर्यये कुसुमास्तरणम् । पादेऽष्टकले ॥ ७६ ॥
त्रिविधैः षट्पदद्विद्विघै(r. षदपतद्विचै)र्भेदांश्च । कथयाष्टादश ॥ ७७ ॥
नवौजयोर्दशाद्यास्तु युजोः सप्तदशावधि ।
विपर्यस्तांह्रिरेषापि भेदैः षोडशकैः स्थिता ॥ ७८ ॥
सु(r. स) मलयमारुतो । नवायुजि युजि तु दश ॥ ७९ ॥
मधुकरीसंलाप । इति पादोत्क्रमे ॥ ८० ॥
नवौजे समे तु । शिवा मदनावासः ॥ ८१ ॥
प्रोक्त(क्तः) सुखावासः । पादविपर्यये ॥ ८२ ॥
असमे नव समे । द्वादश च मङ्गालिका ॥ ८३ ॥
कुङ्कुमलेखा गदिता । क्रमव्यत्यये(+न) ॥ ८४ ॥
विषमे नव समे । त्रयोदश साभिसारिका ॥ ८५ ॥
कविनोक्तं कुवलयदाम । चलन(रण)व्यत्ययात् ॥ ८६ ॥
ओजे नव समे । चतुर्दश कुसुमनिरन्तरम् ॥ ८७ ॥
कलहंसकं बभाण मुनिः । पादविपर्ययात् ॥ ८८ ॥

अयुजोर्नव कलाः । युजोः पञ्चदश मदनोदकम् ॥ ८९ ॥
मदनोदकचरणव्यत्ययात् । सन्ध्यावली स्यात् ॥ ९० ॥
नवौजचरणयोः । समयोः षोडश चन्द्रोद्योतः ॥ ९१ ॥
कुञ्जरललितामचकथन्मुनिः । पादव्यत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥
नव विषमयोः स्युः । समयो(+स्तु)स्त्रयो(r. सप्त)दश दश(--)रत्नावली ॥ ९३ ॥
चरणव्यत्यये कुसुमावलीति । षतचपतत्रयैः ॥ ९४ ॥
एवं त्रिविधे नवमात्रोत्क्रमे । षोडश विभेदाः ॥ ९५ ॥
एवं चतुःपञ्चाशद्वस्तुकान्याहुः ॥
दशोजयोः कलाः कार्या युजोरेकादशाधिकाः ।
यावत्सप्तदशात्रापि प्राग्वद्भेदाश्चतुर्दश ॥ ९६ ॥
भ्रूवक्रणकमयुजि । दश युजि त्वेकादश ॥ ९७ ॥
चरणविपर्यासतः । विद्युल्लता मता ॥ ९८ ॥
मुक्ताफलमाला । अयुजि दश समे द्वादश ॥ ९९ ॥
अस्याः पादोत्क्रमेण । पञ्चाननललिता ॥ १०० ॥
कोकिलावली स्यात् । अयुजि दश समे त्रयोदश ॥ १०१ ॥
मरकतमाला भण्यते । चलन(r. रण)विपर्ययतः ॥ १०२ ॥
मधुकरवृन्दं भण । विषमे दश समे चतुर्दश ॥ १०३ ॥
भवेदभिनववसन्तश्रीः । चरणविपर्ययतः ॥ १०४ ॥
स्यात्केतककुसुमम् । विषमयोर्दश पञ्चदश युजोः ॥ १०५ ॥
पदव्यत्ययेन मनोहरम् । विद्वद्भिर्भणितम् ॥ १०६ ॥
नवविद्युन्माला । विषमे दश युजि षोडश मात्राः ॥ १०७ ॥
आक्षिप्तिका ध्रुवा गीतिस्मिन्(?) । पादविपर्ययेण ॥ १०८ ॥
त्रिवलीतरङ्गकम् । विषमे दश मात्रा युजि सप्तदश ॥ १०९ ॥
विपर्यये सति किंनरलीलेति । षप(च)द्विपद्विप(च)दैः ॥ ११० ॥
त्रिविधदशकले पादे भवेयुः ॥ प्रभेदाश्चतुर्दश ॥ १११ ॥
एकादशौजयोर्मात्रा द्वादशाद्यास्तु युग्मयोः ।
आसप्तदशकाद्भेदाद् द्वादशांह्रिविपर्ययात् ॥ ११२ ॥
यद्येकादशौजे । द्वादश युज्यरविन्दम् ॥ ११३ ॥
मकरध्वजहासा(r. सः) । चरणव्यत्यये स्यात् ॥ ११४ ॥
अयुजि शिवास्त्रयोदश । युजि विभ्रमविलसितमुखम् ॥ ११५ ॥
पादव्यत्ययतो ब्रूहि । कुसुम(r. मा)म्(-)कुलमधुकरम् ॥ ११६ ॥
युजि(r. अयुजि) शिवकला युजि वा(r. च) । मनवो नवपुष्पान्विकेति ॥ ११७ ॥
अस्याश्चरणविपर्ययेण । भ्रमरविलासमुक्तम् ॥ ११८ ॥

युजि पञ्चदश विषमे। शिवा(वाः) किंनरमधुरविलासः ॥ ११९ ॥
मदनविलासोऽयं कथ्यते। चलन(r. रण)विपर्यये सति ॥ १२० ॥
ओजे रुद्रमात्राः। युजि षोडश विद्याधरललिता ॥ १२१ ॥
व्यत्ययेन विद्याधरहास-। श्छन्दोविद्भिरभाणि ॥ १२२ ॥
एकादश विष(+म)योः। सारङ्गो युजोः कलाः सप्तदश ॥ १२३ ॥
कुसुमायुधशेखरो विपर्यये। चपददपचद्विचतैः।
त्रिविधैकादशमात्रे पादे हि। भेदा द्वादशोक्ताः ॥ १२४ ॥

मात्रास्त्रयोदशाद्याः स्युर्युजोः सप्तदशावधि।
ओजयोर्द्वादशैवेयं दशधांह्रिविपर्ययात् ॥ १२५ ॥

द्वादशौजे त्रयोदश। कामिनीहासो विषमे ॥ १२६ ॥
अस्य चलन(r. रण)विपर्ययेण। भवतीहोपदोहकः ॥ १२७ ॥
ओजे द्वादश समे च। त्रयो(r. चतुर्)दशावदोहकमिह ॥ १२८ ॥
अवदोहकपादोत्क्रमे(+ण)। दोहको द्विपथकः (+वा) ॥ १२९ ॥
ओजे द्वादश समेऽथ। पञ्चदश ताः प्रेमविलासः ॥ १३० ॥
अस्य पादविपर्यये कृते। प्रोक्ता चन्द्रलेखिका ॥ १३१ ॥
असमे द्वादश मात्राः। युग्मे षोडश काञ्चनमाला ॥ १३२ ॥
काञ्चनमालापादोत्क्रमेण। सुतालिङ्गनकं भवेत् ॥ १३३ ॥
ओजो(r. जे) द्वादश मात्राः। समे सप्तदश जलधरविलसिता ॥ १३४ ॥
चलन(r. रण)विपर्यये कृते प्राज्ञैः-। रभाणि कङ्केल्लिलतेति ॥ १३५ ॥
त्रिचषचदद्विपदचपति। चतुर्विधार्ककलसदे दशधेति ॥ १३६ ॥

त्रयोदशौजयोर्मात्रा युजोः सप्तदशान्तिकाः।
चतुर्दशादिकाः शेषाः पादव्यत्ययतोऽष्टधा ॥ १३७ ॥

अभिनवमृगाङ्कलेखा तु। त्रयोदशायुजि युजि मनवः ॥ १३८ ॥
कुसुमितकेतकीहस्तः। अस्य पादविपर्ययेण ॥ १३९ ॥
त्रयोदशौजे पञ्चदश। युजि सहकारकुसुममञ्जरी ॥ १४० ॥
अनयोश्चरणयोर्विपर्यये। कुञ्जरविलसितं कथितम् ॥ १४१ ॥
कामिनीक्रीडनकमयुजि। कलास्त्रयोदश युजि षोडश चेत् ॥ १४२ ॥
विद्वद्भिरकारि राजहंसः। व्यत्ययेऽनयोः पादयोः ॥ १४३ ॥
ओजे त्रयोदश मुनिदश। समे कामिनीकङ्कन(ण)हस्तकः ॥ १४४ ॥
विपर्यये पल्लवच्छाया भवेत्। द्विपतद्विचपषचतैरिति।
त्रिविधत्रयोदशमात्रपादेऽत्र। कथिता अष्टौ प्रभेदाः ॥ १४५ ॥

चतुर्दशौजयोर्मात्रा युजोः पञ्चदशाधिकाः।
आ(+सप्त)दशकाऽत्र(r. त्) षोढा भवेत्पादविपर्ययात् ॥ १४६ ॥

ओजयोश्चतुर्दश युजोस्तु । पञ्चदश मुखपालनतिलकः ।। १४७ ।।
पदयोरनयोर्व्यत्यये सति । कृतिभिरभाण्यनङ्गलता ।। १४८ ।।
असमयोश्चतुर्दश समयोः । षोडश मात्रा वसन्तलेखा ।। १४९ ।।
मन्मथविलसितं बुधैः कथितम् । पादविपर्ययेण कृत्वा ।। १५० ।।
मधुरालापिन्या हस्तः । विषमे चतुर्दश समे सप्तदश ।। १५१ ।।
ओल्हणकं वारङ्गडी वा । चरणविपर्यये कृते सति ।।
भेदाः षट् चतुर्दशकलाक्रमे । द्विविधे षद्विचि त्रिचदि श(च्चे)ति ।। १५२ ।।

ओजे पञ्चदशैव स्युर्युग्मयोः षोडशादिकाः ।
मात्राः सप्तदशान्ताः(+स्यात्) प्राग्वद्भेदचतुष्टयम् ।। १५३ ।।

युग्मयोः पञ्चदश कलास्तु । समयोः षोडश पङ्क्तिर्भणिता ।। १५४ ।।
चरडन(r. रण)विपर्ययेण कथिता । कज्जलरेखा च्छन्दःशेखरे ।। १५५ ।।
कुसुमात्परं लतागृहं स्याद् । विषमे पञ्चदश समे सप्तदश ।। १५६ ।।
पदविपर्ययकृतं किलकिंचितम् । त्रिचगणतगणैरथवा त्रिपैर्ग(r. पग)णैः ।। १५७ ।।
पञ्चदशमात्रपादे द्विभेदे । भेदचतुष्टयमिह वद हन्त ।। १५८ ।।

षोडशैवायुजोर्मात्रा युजोः सप्तदशैव तु ।
पादव्यत्ययसंयुक्ता द्विधैषापि भुवि ध्रुवा ।। १५९ ।।

षोडशैव कला विषमे क्रमे । सप्तदशैव समे रत्नमाला ।। १६० ।।
शशिविम्बमुत्क्रमे षोडशकले । षद्विचदचतुश्चैर्द्विविधपदे ।।
भेदौ द्वौ षद्विचतैस्तु(स्त्रि)चपैश्च । द्विविधसप्तदशमात्रः पादः ।। १६१ ।।

एवं दशोत्तरशतं ललिताभिधानै-
भेदैरिहान्तरसमार्धसमाऽपि तद्वत् ।
किं तु द्वितीयचरणः प्रथमेन तुल्य-
स्तुर्यस्तृतीयसदृशोऽर्धसमासु कार्यः ।। १६२ ।।

यथा :—

किव कन्नकलिंग परिज्जिया । ठिय नरवइ माणविवज्जिया ।।
न उ कोइ अहिठ्ठइ अंणियवहे । कहि वइरि जयदु(द्द)हो कन्नवहे ।। १६३ ।।
इत्यादि ।

आसां चतुष्पदीनां द्वित्रिचतुर्भिर्लक्षणैः एकत्र मिश्रितैः संकीर्णमिष्यते । यथा—

वायाला फलुसा विन्धणी(r. णा) । गुणहिं विमुक्का प्राणहर ।।
जिम सज्जण दुज्जण जण उरे । तिव पर(स)रु न लहन्ति सर ।। १६४ ।।
इत्यादि ।

सर्वैस्तुल्यकलैः । पादैः सर्वसमा ।।
दशमात्राभिश्चैद् । शशाङ्कवदनायाम् ।। १६५ ।।

मारकृतौजेऽन्य(r. प)दाः। युग्मचरणे द्विचताः ॥ १६६ ॥
षचदैस्त्रिचकारैर्वा। महानुभावां वदन्ति ॥ १६७ ॥
अप्सरोविलसितं भवेत्। षचतैर्द्विच(+प)गणैस्तु वा ॥ १६८ ॥
स्युर्गन्धोदकधारायाम्। पद्विचकारास्त्रिचदा वा ॥ १६९ ॥
त्रिचताः पारणकेऽथ षचपाः ॥ १७० ॥
षोडशमात्र(r. त्रं) पादाकुलकम् ॥ १७१ ॥
संकुलकं भवेत् षचगणव(r. च)दैः ॥ १७२ ॥
चगणचतुष्के सति पद्धडिका ॥ १७३ ॥
त्रिचगणपगणैः षचगणचतैर्वा। रगडाध्रुवकं सप्तदशमात्रम् ॥ १७४ ॥
सर्वसमा दशधैषा कथिता। चतुष्पदी प्रकरणं समाप्तमिति ॥ १७५ ॥
यस्यास्तुल्यकलौ पादौ द्वावेव द्विपदी सा स्यात् ॥
तत्राष्टाविंशतिकलौ पादौ सप्तचौ लये स्तः ॥ १७६ ॥
दशाङ्ग(ष्ट)विच्छिन्नं दशविश्रान्तं भवति भ्रमरपदम् ॥ १७७ ॥
उपभ्रमरपदेऽत्र दशवसुविरते षचपचदै(r. षपञ्चचदैः)क्रमौ ॥ १७८ ॥
एकोनविंशति(r. त्रिंशन्)मात्रां(त्रं) गरुडपदं चाः षट् पो मुनौ ॥ १७९ ॥
आदौ षगणः सप्तमस्तगणः उपगरुडपदं कथयन्ति ॥ १८० ॥
त्रिंशन्मात्राभिः सार्धसप्तचौ चरणौ स्तो गीतिसमौ ॥ १८१ ॥
हरिणीकुलमिह पा(षा)द्यं हरिणीपदमिति रविवसुदशविरतम् ॥ १८२ ॥
पञ्चषकारयुतं स्याद् भ्रमररुतं दशवसुनिधनश्रान्तम् ॥ १८३ ॥
एकत्रिंशन्मात्रौ चलनौ(रणौ) षचतुष्कचतैः कमलाकरे ॥ १८४ ॥
या सप्तचकारा निधनतकारा सा कुङ्कुमतिलकावली ॥ १८५ ॥
द्वादशाहि(r. ष्ट)विच्छिन्ना रत्नकण्ठिका; पा(षा)द्या पान्ता शिखा ॥ १८६ ॥
द्वात्रिंशन्मात्रौ स्कन्धकसमके पादौ वसुचैर्दिगहि(r. ष्ट)च्छिदि ॥ १८७ ॥
मौक्तिकदामाकारि च्छन्दोविद्भिः सूर्याष्टकं विरामम् ॥ १८८ ॥
चतुर्दशाङ्ग(r. ष्ट)दशविरामं कुशलैर्गदितं नवकदलीपत्रम् ॥ १८९ ॥
षगणाद्ये त्रयेपि गान्ते सिं(r. चैं)तन्नामानि स्त्रीलिङ्गे स्युः ॥ १९० ॥
आयामके त्रयस्त्रिंशन्मात्रौ पादौ सप्तचो(चौ) पगणान्तौ ॥ १९१ ॥
दशवसुतिथिविरतं कथयन्ति बुधाश्छन्दसि काञ्चीदामकं तत् ॥ १९२ ॥
मन्वष्टशम्भुविश्रान्तं निपुणैः कथितं चूडामणिमे(r. रे)व तत् ॥ १९३ ॥
द्वादशवसुविच्छिन्नं त्रयोदशविरति कथितं रसनादामकम् ॥ १९४ ॥
चत्वार्येतानि षगणप्रमुखानि लघुगुर्वन्तानि वदेदुपात् ॥ १९५ ॥
अष्टचगणैः सगुर्वन्तैः स्वपनके चतुस्त्रिंशन्मात्रौ पादौ ॥ १९६ ॥
द्वितीयतुर्यौ षौ कुमुदे भवतो दशवसुषोडशविच्छेदयुते ॥ १९७ ॥

सूर्याष्टविरतियुक्ते चगणा अष्टौ सार्धा भुजङ्गविक्रान्ते ॥ १९८ ॥
इदमपि भाराक्रान्तं दक्षैरुक्तं मुखत्रयौ यदि षौ भवतः ॥ १९९ ॥
अध्यर्धचाष्टकं गदितं ताराध्रुवके मन्वष्टार्कविरामे ॥ २०० ॥
मनुदिग्गजसूर्यविरामं पवनध्रुवकं प्रथमषष्ठषट्कलकम् ॥ २०१ ॥
सार्धाष्टचं कलेभविरामं नवरङ्गकमिति विचक्षणैः कथितम् ॥ २०२ ॥
त्रिषकारादि चतुश्चगणाङ्कं स्वविरासनमिह षोडशेभदशयति ॥ २०३ ॥
षोडशकाष्ठागजदशविरतं सप्तचकारं षप्तमं(r. गणा+न्तं) सुभगम् ॥ २०४ ॥
कदोट्टमष्टचतगणान्तं पञ्चत्रिंशन्मात्रं गदितं बुधैः ॥ २०५ ॥
षकारद्वयाद्यं दशवसुविरतं भ्रमरद्रुतमिदं गदितं कविना ॥ २०६ ॥
सूर्याष्टतिथिविरामं छन्दोविद्भिः प्रगदितमिदं सुरक्रीडितम् ॥ २०७ ॥
मन्वष्टनिधनविच्छिन्नं कुशलैर्गदितं जगति सिंहविक्रान्तम् ॥ २०८ ॥
षोडशविषधररुद्रविरामं कुशलैरभाषि कुङ्कुमकेशरमिदम् ॥ २०९ ॥
षट्त्रिंशन्मात्रौ पादौ नवचगणैर्बलिभुजंगमपठितौ ललितौ ॥ २१० ॥
सूर्याष्टकलाविरतं चातुरोऽवादीत्(?) त्रिषकाराद्य(द्यु)पगन्धर्वं भुवि ॥ २११ ॥
चतुर्दशसंख्यया विरतं दिग्गजे तथा प्राज्ञैर्गीतं संगीतम् ॥ २१२ ॥
षोडशकाष्ठागजविश्रान्तं कृतमुपगीतं छन्दःशास्त्रविदग्धैः ॥ २१३ ॥
अष्टाभिश्चगणैः पगणान्तैः सप्तत्रिंशन्मात्रौ पादौ गुन्दलो ॥ २१४ ॥
धर्मकिरणविश्रान्तम् दिग्(+गज)विरतं पाद्यं ज्ञेयं रथ्यावर्णकम् ॥ २१५ ॥
चतुर्दशसंख्यया छिन्ना वसुविश्रान्ता पञ्चदशविरामा चञ्चरी ॥ २१६ ॥
कलाविषधरनिधनविश्रान्तं कथितमभिनवं सप्तमे षगणे चपलम् ॥ २१७ ॥
अष्टात्रिंशन्मात्राभिः सार्धैर्नवचैः पादौ मन्विभस्थिति दीर्घकम् ॥ २१८ ॥
कलकण्ठीरुतं षप्रथमं ; द्विषा(ष+का)रपूर्वं शतपत्रं कथितं मुनिना ॥ २१९ ॥
यत्षोडशाष्टचतुर्दशच्छिन्नं सिंहपदं, सप्तमे षकारे त्वमृतम् ॥ २२० ॥
चत्वारिंशन्मात्रायामेकोनायां निष्णातोऽकार्षीदतिदीर्घकम् ॥
नवसंख्यचकारैस्तान्तैर्मनुविश्रान्तं वसुविच्छिन्नं सप्तदशविरामम् ॥ २२१ ॥
मन्विभसप्तदशविरामा द्विषकाराद्या पूर्वोक्तमपि मत्तमातङ्गिका ॥ २२२ ॥
चत्वारिंशन्मात्रावेकद्वयधिकौ वा पादौ मालाध्रुवके जाय(ये)ते ॥ २२३ ॥
ह्यतः परं सूरयो ध्रुवकाणि न योजयन्ति द्विपदीप्रकरणमिदं समाप्तम् ॥
द्विपदीध्रुवाणां षष्टिः ॥ २२४ ॥

विज्ञप्तिसंविधानकमङ्गलसिंहावलोकितार्थेषु ।
ध्रुवकं बुधैर्विधेयं तदूर्ध्वः(r. र्ध्वं+तो) द्विपदिकाः सर्वाः ॥ २२५ ॥
पादद्वयसंयुक्ता एकानेकाक्षरान्तकृतयमकाः ॥
चतुरादिकलास्त्रिंशत्प्रान्ताः सन्ति द्विपद्योऽन्याः ॥ २२६ ॥

चः स्याद्विजया ।। २२७ ।। पो भवेद्रेवका ।। २२८ ।। स्याद् द्विपदी गणा श्चे (षेण) ।। २२९ ।। चतौ भवतः सच (स्वर) द्विपदी ।। २३० ।। पगणदगणौ भवतोऽप्सराः ।। २३१ ।। अष्टकलाभिर्वसुद्विपदिका ।। २३२ ।। चौ मकरभुजा ।। २३३ ।। पतविभूषिता मदनविलसिता ।। २३४ ।। चगणष (प) गणाभ्यां किल जंभिष्टिका ।। २३५ ।। पचाभ्यां लवली ।। २३६ ।।

द्विपदीप्रकरणम् । इत्यादि न्यूह्या द्विपद्यः प्राज्ञैः ।। २३७ ।।

यस्यासीत्प्रपितामहो यस इति श्रीलाहटस्त्वार्यक-
स्तातष्ठक्कुरदुद्दकः स जननी श्रीनागदेवी स्वयम् ।
स श्रीमानिह राजशेखरकविः श्रीभोजदेवप्रियं
छन्दःशेखरमार्हतोऽप्यरचयत्प्रीत्यै स भूयात्सताम् ।। २३८ ।।

इति राजशेखरकृते छन्दःशेखरे शीर्षकोत्साहादिषट्चतुर्द्विपदीध्रुवकाणि पञ्चमोध्यायः ।।

इत्यार्हतश्रीराजशेखरकृतं छन्दःशेखरं नाम छन्दःशास्त्रं परिसमाप्तमिति ।। संवत् ११७९ ज्येष्ठशुदि ५ शुक्रे अद्येह श्रीचित्रकूटमहादुर्गे प्राकृतच्छन्द लिखितमिति ।।

PRĀKṚTA AND APABHRAṀŚA METRES

(Classified List and Alphabetical Index)

By H. D. VELANKAR

So far, only a few important works on Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres have been brought to light. In an approximate chronological order, they are as follows:—(1) Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya (VJS.), published at *Journal BBRAS.*, 1929, 1932; (2) Nanditāḍhya's Gāthālakṣaṇa (N.) published at *Annals BORI.*, 1933; (3) Svayambhūchandas (SB.) of Svayambhū, published at *Journal BBRAS.*, 1935 (Chs. 1–3) and at *Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1935 (Chs. 4–8); (4) Rājaśekhara's Chandaśśekhara (R.) published in the foregoing pages; (5) Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, Chs. IV–VII, (H.) published at *Journal BBRAS.*, 1943-44; (6) Kavidarpaṇa (KD.) of an unknown author, published at *Annals BORI.*, 1935; (7) Prākṛta Paiṅgalam (PP.) ascribed to Piṅgala, published at Calcutta in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, 1902; and (8) Ratnaśekhara's Chandaḥkośa (CK.), published in the *Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1933. All excepting No. (7) are edited by the present writer. The references in the List and the Index are to these editions. In this List I have included all Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres found in the abovementioned works. The few metres defined and illustrated in Prākṛta, by Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. 32, as also some Varṇa Vṛttas which are adopted by the Apabhraṁśa poets (with their peculiar practice of using two short for any one long letter) are dropped out from this List. They will have their legitimate place in a List of the Akṣara-Gaṇa Vṛttas.

In the List the metres are arranged in the ascending order of the Mātrās which each line contains; in the case of the Ardhasama metres, the ascending order of the Mātrās in the first line is followed, the Mātrās of both the lines forming a half being given. The number of Mātrās in all the lines of the Viṣama metres is also shown.

The first figure in the List refers to the serial number; then follow in order the name, the italicized figure or figures representing the number of Mātrās in a line or lines, the Mātrā Gaṇas into which the line is divided (when the same Gaṇa is repeated several times, it is shown by means of the multiplicator) along with the italicized figures showing the Yati, both being put within brackets, and lastly the references arranged in an alphabetical order. Short and long letters are shown by the older signs, viz. I and S. Only rarely have I used the letters *Ja*, *Bha*, *Ma*, *Ya*, *Ra* and *Sa* representing the Akṣara Gaṇas of the Varṇa Vṛttas, to show the restrictions about short and long letters. When the restrictions are too many to be shown briefly, I have added notes at the end and indicated this by an asterisk (*). I have described most of the metres in two articles on Apabhraṁś Metres at *BUJ.*, Nov. 1933, Nov. 1936.

The List is divided into 12 sections: I. समद्विपदी 99; II. विषमद्विपदी 26; III. समचतुष्पदी 197; IV. अर्धसमचतुष्पदी 139; V. विषमचतुष्पदी 3; VI. पञ्चपदी 16; VII. षट्पदी 36; VIII. अष्टपदी 3; IX. द्विभङ्गी 21; X. त्रिभङ्गी 6; XI. चतुर्भंङ्गी 1; XII. पञ्चभङ्गी 1 = 548 in all.

In the Alphabetical Index the first figure refers to the section and the second to the serial number under the section.

A. Classified List

I. समद्विपदी

1	विजया ..	.. *4*. H., VII, 58; R., V, 227; SB., VII, 3.
2	रेवका ..	.. *5*. H., VII, 59; R., V, 228; SB., VII, 4.
3	गणद्विपदी ..	.. *6*. H., VII, 60; R., V, 229; SB., VII, 5.
4	स्वरद्विपदी..	.. *7* (4, 3). H., VII, 61; R., V, 230; SB., VII, 6.
5	अप्सरा ..	.. *7* (5, 2). H., VII, 62; R., V, 231; SB., VII, 7.
6	वसुद्विपदी ..	.. *8*. H., VII, 63; R., V, 232.
7	करिमकरभुजा	.. *8* (4, 4). H., VII, 64; R., V, 233; SB., VII, 9.
8	चन्द्रलेखा ..	.. *8* (4, 1, 2, 1). H., VII, 65.
9	मदनविलसिता	.. *8* (5, 3). H., VII, 66; R., V, 234. =मङ्गलावती SB., VII, 8.
10	मलयविकसिता	.. *8* (6, 2). SB., VII, 10.
11	जंभेदिका ..	.. *9* (4, 5). H., VII, 67; R., V, 235; SB., VII, 11.
12	लवली ..	.. *9* (5, 4). H., VII, 68; R., V, 236.
13	अमरपुरसुन्दरी	.. *10* (7, 2, 1). H., VII, 69.
14	काञ्चनलेखा	.. *10* (6, 4). H.; VII, 70.
15	चारु ..	.. *10* (5, 5). H., VII, 71. =ललतक SB., VII, 12.
16	पुष्पमाला ..	.. *12* (3, 6, 3). H., VII, 72.
17	विच्छित्ति ..	.. *22* (2, 4×5 जगण is to be avoided). VJS., IV, 91.
18	उत्फुल्लक ..	.. *24* (4×5, SS). VJS., IV, 63.
19	द्विपथक ..	.. *26* (4×3, S, 4×2, SS). VJS., IV, 27. See दोहक.
20	उपगीति *..	.. *27* (*12*, *15*). CK., 69; KD., II, 9; VJS., IV, 14. =गाथ N., 64; PP. I, 52.
21	कुङ्कुम (उल्लाल)	.. *27* (*15*, *12*). KD., II, 2-3; H., VII, 2.
22	कर्पूर (उल्लाल)	.. *28* (*15*, *13*). CK., 12; 29; KD., II, 2-3; H., VII, 2; PP., 118.
23	लय ..	.. *28* (4×7). H., VII, 4; R., V, 176; SB., VI, 163.
24	भ्रमरपद ..	.. *28* (4×7; *10*, *8*, *10*). H., VII, 5; R., V, 177; SB., VI, 164.
25	उपभ्रमरपद	.. *28* (6, 4×5, 2; *10*, *8*, *10*). H., VII, 6; R., V, 178; S.B., VI, 165.
26	उपस्कन्धक*	.. *29* (*12*, *17*). H., IV, 6; KD. II, 9.
27	गरुडपद ..	.. *29* (4×6, 5). H., VII, 7; R., V, 179; SB., VI, 166.
28	उपगरुडपद ..	.. *29* (6, 4×5, 3). H., VII, 8; R., V, 180; SB., VI, 167.
29	हरिणीकुल ..	.. *30* (4×7, 2; *12*, *8*, *10*). H., VII, 9; R., V, 182, SB., VI, 169.

30 गीति * .. .. *30 (12, 18)*. CK., 68; KD., II, 9; =उद्गाथ N., 64; PP., I, 68.

31 गीतिसम .. .. *30* (12, 18; *10, 8, 12*). H., VII, 10; R., V, 181; SB., VI, 168.

32 भ्रमररुत .. .. *30* (6×5; *10, 8, 12*). H., VII, 11; R., V, 183; SB., VI, 170.

33 हरिणीपद .. .. *30* (6, 4×6). H., VII, 12; R., V, 182.

34 कमलाकर .. .. *31* (6×4, 4, 3). H., VII, 13; R., V, 184; SB., VI, 170.

35 कुङ्कुमतिलकावली .. *31* (4×7, 3). H., VII, 14; R., V, 185; SB., VI, 172.

36 रत्नकण्ठिका .. *31* (4×7, 3; *12, 8, 11*). H., VII, 15; R., V, 186; SB., VI, 173.

37 शिखा .. .. *31* (6, 4×5, 5; *12, 8, 11*). H., VII, 16; R., V, 186.

38 छड्डुणिका .. .. *31* (4×7, 3; *10, 8, 13*). H., VII, 17.

39 रिपुच्छन्दस् * .. *31 (12, 19)*. H., IV, 1; KD., II, 10.

40 ललिता * .. .. *31 (13, 18)*. H., IV, 2; KD., II, 10.

41 घत्ता .. .. *31 (10, 8, 13)*. PP. I, 99.

42 घत्तानन्द .. .. *31 (10, 7, 14)*. PP. I, 102.

43 भद्रिका * .. .. *32 (13, 19)*. H., IV, 3; KD., II, 10.

44 स्कन्धक * .. .. *32 (12, 20)*. H., IV, 5; KD., II, 9; N. 65; PP., I, 73; VJS., IV, 9.

45 स्कन्धकसम .. *32* (4×8; *10, 8*). H., VII, 18; R., V, 187; SB., VI, 174.

46 स्कन्धकसमा .. *32* (6, 4×6, 2; *10, 8*). H., VII, 21; R., V, 190.

47 मौक्तिकदाम .. *32* (4×8; *12, 8, 12*). H. VII, 19; KD., II, 3; R., V, 188; SB., VI, 175.

48 मौक्तिकदाम्नी .. *32* (6, 4×6, 2; *12, 8, 12*). H., VII, 21; R., V, 190.

49 नवकदलीपत्र .. *32* (4×8; *14, 8, 10*). H., VII, 20; R., V, 189; SB., VI, 176.

50 नवकदलीपत्रा .. *32* (6, 4×6, 2; *14, 8, 10*). H. VII, 21; R., V, 190.

51 आयामक .. .. *33* (4×7, 5). H., VII, 22; R., V, 191; SB., VI, 178.

52 उपायामक .. .. *33* (6, 4×6, 2). H., VII, 26; R., V, 195; SB., VII, 182.

53 काञ्चीदाम .. *33* (4×7, 5; *10, 8, 15*). H., VII, 23; R., V, 192; SB., VI, 179.

54 उपकाञ्चीदाम .. *33* (6, 4×6, 3; *10, 8, 15*). H., VII, 26; R., V, 195; SB., VI, 182.

55 रसनादाम .. .. *33* (4×7, 5; *12, 8, 13*). H., VII, 24; R., V, 194; S.B., VI, 180.

56 उपरसनादाम .. *33* (6, 4×6, 3; *12, 8, 13*). H., VII, 26; R., V, 195; SB., VI, 182.

57 चूडामणि .. .. *33* (4×7, 5; *14, 8, 11*). H., VII, 25; R., V, 193; SB., VI, 181.

58 उपचूडामणि .. *33* (6, 4×6, 3; *14, 8, 11*). H., VII, 26; R., V, 195; SB., VI, 182.

59 स्वप्नक .. .. *34* (4×8, 2). H., VII, 27; R., V, 196; SB., VI, 183.

60 अप्सरःकुसुम .. *34* (4×8, 2; *10, 8, 16*). SB., VI, 184.

61 भुजङ्गविक्रान्त .. *34* (4×8, 2; *12, 8, 14*). H., VII, 28; R., V, 198; SB., VI, 185.

62 ताराध्रुवक.. .. *34* (4×8, 2; *14, 8, 12*). H., VII, 29; R., V, 200.

62*a* ताराध्रुवक.. .. 34 (6, 4×2, 6, 4×3, 2; *14, 8, 12*). SB., VI, 186.

63 नवरङ्गक .. .. *34* (4×8, 2; *16, 8, 10*). H., VII, 30; R., V, 202; SB., VI, 187.

64 पवनध्रुवक.. .. *34* (6, 4×4, 6, 4, 2; *14, 8, 12*). H., VII, 33; R., V, 201; SB., VI, 186.

65 स्थविरासनक .. *34* (6×3, 4×4; *16, 8, 10*). H., VII, 31; R., V, 203.

66 सुभग .. .. *34* (4×7, 6; *16, 8, 10*). H., VII, 32; R., V, 204.

67 कुमुद .. .. *34* (6, 4×2, 6, 4×3, 2; *10, 8, 16*). H., VII, 34.

67*a* कुमुद .. .. *34* (4, 6, 4, 6, 4×3, 2; *10, 8, 16*). R., V, 197.

68 भाराक्रान्त.. .. *34* (6, 4×2, 6, 4×3, 2; *12, 8, 14*). H., VII, 35; R., V, 199.

69 तीर्थानन .. .. *35* (4×8, 3). SB., VII, 188; = कन्दोट्ट H., VII, 36; R., V, 205.

70 भ्रमरद्रुत .. .. *35* (6×2, 4×5, 3; *10, 8, 17*). H., VII, 37; R., V, 206; SB., VI, 190.

71 सुरक्रीडित .. .. *35* (6×2, 4×5, 3; *12, 8, 15*). H., VII, 38; R., V, 207; SB., VI, 191.

72 सिंहविक्रान्त .. *35* (6×2, 4×5, 3; *14, 8, 13*). H., VII, 39; R., V, 208.

73 कुङ्कुमकेसर .. *35* (6×2, 4×5, 3; *16, 8, 11*). H., VII, 40; R., V, 209.

73*a* प्रसृता .. .. *35* (10, 4, ज, 4, ज, 4, य) VJS., IV, 92.

74 बालभुजंगमललित .. *36* (4×9). H., VII, 41; R., V, 210.

75 उपगन्धर्व .. .. *36* (6×3, 4×4, 2; *12, 8, 16*). H., VII, 42; R., V, 211.

76 संगीत .. .. *36* (6×3, 4×4, 2; *14, 8, 14*). H., VII, 43; R., V, 212; SB., VI, 192.

77 उपसंगीत .. .. *36* (6×3, 4×4, 2; *16, 8, 12*). H., VII, 44; R., V, 213; SB., VI, 193.

78 गोन्दल .. .. *37* (4×8, 5). H., VII, 45; R., V, 214; SB., VI, 194.

79 रथ्यावर्णक.. .. *37* (6, 4×7, 3; *12, 8, 17*). H., VII, 46; R., V, 215; SB., VI, 195.

80 चच्चरी .. .. *37* (6, 4×7, 3; *14, 8, 15*). H., VII, 47; R., V, 216; SB., VI, 196.

81 अभिनव .. .. *37* (6, 4×7, 3; *16, 8, 13*). H., VII, 48; SB., VI, 197.
82 चपल .. .. *37* (4×6, 6, 4, 3; *16, 8, 13*). H., VII, 49; R., V, 217.
83 चपल .. .. *37* (6, 4×7, 3; *16, 8, 13*). SB., VI, 197.
84 झुल्लणा .. .. *37* (*10, 10, 17*). PP., I, 156.
85 अमृत .. .. *38* (4×6, 6, 4×2). H., VII, 50; R., V, 220; SB., VI, 200.
86 सिंहपद .. .. *38* (4×9, 2; *16, 8, 14*). H., VII, 51; R., V, 220; SB., VI, 200.
87 दीर्घक .. .. *38* (4×9, 2; *14, 8, 16*). H., VII, 52; R., V, 218; = रतिरमणप्रिय SB., VI, 198.
88 कलकण्ठीरुत .. *38* (6, 4×8; *14, 8, 16*). H., VII, 53; R., V, 219; SB., VI, 199.
89 शतपत्र .. .. *38* (6×2, 4×6, 2; *14, 8, 16*). H., VII, 54; R., V, 220; SB., VI, 199.
90 अतिदीर्घक.. .. *39* (4×9, 3; *14, 8, 16*). H., VII, 55; R., V, 221; SB., VI, 201.
91 मत्तमातङ्गविजृम्भित .. *39* (6×2, 4×6, 3; *14, 8, 16*). H., VII, 56; = मत्तमातङ्ग SB., VI, 202; मत्तमातङ्गिका R., V, 222.
92 मालाध्रुवक .. *40*. H., VII, 57; R., V, 223; SB., VI, 203.
93 मालाध्रुवक .. *41*. H., VII, 57; R., V, 223; SB., VI, 203.
94 खञ्जा .. .. *41* (4×9, र). PP., I, 158.
95 मालाध्रुवक .. *42*. H., VII, 57; R., V, 223; SB., VI, 203.
96 विशाला * .. *46* (4×11). VJS., IV, 90.

II. विषमद्विपदी

1 उद्गीति * .. *27–30*. A SK. Metre: KD., II, 10; N., 27; = विगाथा CK., 67; N., 64; PP., I, 66.
2 शिखा .. .. *28–32*. PP., I, 161-162.
3 उत्स्कन्धक.. .. *29–32*. H., IV, 7; KD., II, 9 Com.
4 गाथा * (पथ्या, विपुला.. and चपला) *30–27*. CK., 51–61; KD., II, 4-5; N., 6ff.; PP., I, 54ff.; VJS., II, 2–8.
5 संकीर्णस्कन्धक .. *30–32*. H., IV, 9; KD., II, 9 Com.; = गाथिनी CK., 70; N., 65; PP., I, 70.
6 अवस्कन्धक .. *32–29*. H., IV, 8; KD., II, 9 Com.
7 संकीर्णस्कन्धक .. *32–30*. H., IV, 9; KD., II, 9 Com.; = सिंहिनी PP., I, 70.
8 जातीफल .. .. *34–27*. H., IV, 10; KD., II, 11 Com.
9 गाथ .. .. *38–27*. H., IV, 11; KD., II, 12.

10	दाम ..	.. *42–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
11	माला * ..	.. *45–27*. PP., I, 164.
12	उद्गाथ ..	.. *46–27*. H., IV, 12; KD., II, 12.
12*a*	समशीर्षक ..	.. *47* (55, 63, 71, etc.)–27. H., IV, 2 ; R., V, 4.
13	उद्दाम ..	.. *50–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
14	विगाथ ..	.. *54–27*. H., IV, 12; KD., II, 12.
15	विदाम ..	.. *58–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
16	अवगाथ ..	.. *62–27*. H., IV, 12; KD., II, 12.
17	अवदाम ..	.. *66–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
18	संगाथ ..	.. *70–27*. H., IV, 12; KD., II, 13.
19	संदाम ..	.. *74–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
20	उपगाथ ..	.. *78–27*. H., IV, 12; KD., II, 13.
21	उपदाम ..	.. *82–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
22	गाथिनी ..	.. *86–27*. H., IV, 13; KD., II, 13.
23	दामिनी ..	.. *90–27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.
24	मालागाथ ..	.. *94* (*102*, *110*, *etc.*)–*27*. H., IV, 14; KD., II, 13 Com.
25	मालादाम ..	.. *98* (*106*, *112*, *etc.*)–*27*. H., IV, 15; KD., II, 13 Com.

III. समचतुष्पदी

1	विजयक ..	.. *8*. CK., 19.
2	मधुभार ..	.. *8* (4, ज). PP., I, 175.
3	ध्रुवक ..	.. *9* (5, 4). H., VI, 23; SB., VIII, 5.
4	अवलम्बक ..	.. *9* (4, र). VJS., IV, 68; also see Nos. 17, 22, 29.
5	एकावली ..	.. *10* (5×2). CK., 47.
6	दीपक ..	.. *10* (4, 5, 1). PP., I, 181.
7	शशिवदना ..	.. *10* (4×2, 2). H., VI, 24; R., V, 165; SB., VI, 153.
8	आभीर ..	.. *11* (7, ज). PP., I, 177.
9	मारकृति[1] ..	.. *11* (4, 5, 2 or 4×2, 3). H., VI, 25; R., V, 166; SB., VI, 154.
10	रक्ता ..	.. *11* (र, ज, S). VJS., III, 7 ; = खेटक VJS., IV, 76.
11	मनोवती ..	.. *11* (4, 5, S). VJS., III, 4.
12	महानुभावा	.. *12* (6, 4, 2 or 4×3 or 6×2). H., VI, 26; R., V, 167; SB., VI, 156.
13	प्रगीता ..	.. *12* (4, 4, SS). VJS., III, 6.

[1] R. and SB. lay down 4, 5, 2 for odd lines and 4, 4, 2 for even ones. H. makes these optional for all lines.

14 नाराचक .. .. *12* (ज, र, 1S). VJS., IV, 58.

15 घत्ता .. .. *12*. SB., VIII, 26.

16 अप्सरोविलसित .. *13* (6, 4, 3 or 4, 4, 5). H., VI, 27; R. V., 168; SB., VI, 157.

17 खण्ड .. .. *13* (4, 4, 5). H., IV, 45; also called अवलम्बक.

18 संगलितक .. .. *13* (4, 4, 5 with a double अन्त्ययमक). H., IV, 21.

19 पदगलिता .. .. *13* (4, 4, 5 with a common अन्त्ययमक). VJS., IV, 102.

20 सुन्दरागलितक .. *13* (5, 5, 3 with a double अन्त्ययमक). H., IV, 28.

21 ज्योत्स्ना .. .. *13* (5, 5, 1S). VJS., III, 3.

22 उपखण्ड .. .. *13* (6, 4, 3). H., IV, 46; also called अवलम्बक.

23 उद्दोहक .. .. *13*. KD., II, 17.

24 हंसिनी .. .. *13*. VJS., IV, 72.

25 मानिनी .. .. *13* (र, ज, SS). VJS., III, 8.

26 गाथ .. .. *13* (र, स, SS). VJS., IV, 57.

27 गन्धोदकधारा .. *14* (6, 4, 4 or 4×3, 2). H., VI, 28; R., V, 169; SB., VI, 158; = झम्बटक In a song. H., V, 42.

28 हाकलि * .. .. *14*. PP., I, 172.

29 खण्डिता .. .. *14* (6, 4, 4 with a double यमक). H., IV, 47 also called अवलम्बक.

30 निर्ध्यायिका .. *14* (5, 3×3). H., IV, 68. See also Nos. 73, 78.

31 कौमुदी .. .. *14* (5, 5, स). VJS., III, 5.

32 तारा .. .. *14* (4, 4, ज, S). VJS., III, 2.

33 सुमना * .. .. *14* (4×3, S). VJS., III, 1.

34 लघुचतुष्पदी .. *15*. CK., 40.

35 पारणक .. .. *15* (4×3, 3 or 6, 4, 5). H., VI, 29; R., V, 170; SB., VI, 159.

36 आनन्दित .. .. *15* (4×3, 1S). VJS., IV, 20.

37 पद्मिनी .. .. *15* (4, 4, 5, S). VJS., III, 10.

38 पादाकुलक .. .. *16*. PP., I, 129; R., V, 171; SB., VI, 160.

39 संकुलक .. .. *16* (6, 4, 4, 2). H. V., 28 Com.; R., V, 172; SB., VI, 160.

40 पज्झटिका or पद्धतिका* .. *16* (4×4). CK., 36; H., VI, 30; PP., I, 125; R., V, 173.

41 मालती .. .. *16* (1, 3, 5 Gaṇas only used). CK., 49.

42 सिंहावलोक .. *16* (4 which is *all short* or स×4). PP., I, 183.

43 मात्रासमक * .. *16* (4×4). KD., II, 19.

44 विश्लोक * .. .. *16* (4×4). KD., II, 19.

45 चित्रा * .. .. *16* (4×4). KD., II, 20.

46 वानवासिका * .. *16* (4×4). KD., II, 20.

47	उपचित्रा * ..	..	*16* (4×4). KD., II, 20.
48	मुक्तावलिका	..	*16* (3×4, 4). KD., II, 21.
49	वदन or वदनक	..	*16* (6, 4, 4, 2). H., V, 28; KD., II, 21; R., V, 16; 19.
50	रास ..	..	*16* (4×3, SS). VJS., IV, 85.
51	अप्सरा ..	..	*16* (5, 5, ज, S). VJS., III, 9.
52	चन्द्रिका ..	..	*16* (5, 5, 4, S). VJS., III, 17.
53	नन्दिनी ..	..	*16* (4 स). VJS., III, 20; = छित्तक VJS., IV, 54.
54	भित्तक ..	..	*16* (3 भ, SS). VJS., IV, 55.
55	I विलासिनी	..	*16* (3×2, 4, 3×2). H., IV, 52.
56	II विलासिनी *	..	*16* (5, 5, ज, S). VJS., IV, 15.
57	परिनन्दित ..	..	*16* (र, न, भ, SS). VJS., IV, 19.
58	भूषणा ..	..	*16* (5, 5, 3, 3 with यमक). H., IV, 29.
59	विभूषणा ..	..	*16* (2, ज, त, र). VJS., IV, 94.
60	घत्ता ..	..	*16* (4 भ). SB., VIII, 28.
61	अडिला ..	..	*16* (with one यमक). CK., 41; H., V, 30; PP., I, 127; R., V, 20; SB., IV., 29.
62	मडिला ..	..	*16* (with 2 यमकs). CK., 41; H., V, 30; R., V, 20; SB., IV, 29.
63	वाणासिका *	..	*16* (4×4). VJS., IV, 17.
64	उपवदन ..	..	*17* (6, 4, 4, 3). H., V, 29; R., V, 17; SB., VI, 161 (?).
65	रगडाध्रुवक	..	*17* (4×3, 5 or 6, 4, 4, 3). H., VI, 31; R., V, 174; SB., VI, 161.
66	उत्थक्क ..	..	*17* (5×3, 2 with यमक). H., V, 31; SB., VIII, 1. = अवस्थितक H., V, 31 Com.
67	कुसुम (रासक)	..	*17* (4, 5, ज, SS). H., V, 15.
68	विद्युत् ..	..	*17* (4, 5, 4, 4 or 4×3, 5). VJS., III, 11.
69	सरस्वती ..	..	*17* (4, 5, 5, 1S). VJS., III, 13.
70	विभूति ..	..	*17* (4, ज, 4, 5). VJS., III, 15.
71	चन्द्राक्रान्ता	..	*17* (4, 5, 4, स). VJS., III, 22.
72	निर्वापिता ..	..	*17* (4, 4, ज, or all short, स or all long). VJS., IV, 16.
73	निध्यायिका	..	*17* (4, 4, 3×3). H., IV, 68.
74	तिलक ..	..	*17* (4, 5, ज, SS). VJS., IV, 71.
75	विभ्रम (रासक)	..	*18* (त, र, य, 1S). H., V, 14.
76	मनोरमा ..	..	*18* (4×3, ज, S). VJS., IV, 82. = विजया VJS., III, 18.
77	सुमङ्गला ..	..	*18* (4×4, 2). H., IV, 44; VJS., III, 16.
78	निध्यायिका	..	*19* (5, 5, 3×3). H., IV, 68.
79	रतिवल्लभ ..	..	*19* (5×3, 4). H., IV, 39.

80 प्रभावती .. .. *19* (ज, 4, ज, 4, 1S). VJS., III, 19.
81 वीथी .. .. *19* (4×3, र, S). VJS., IV, 67.
82 मदनावतार .. *20* (5×4). H., IV, 75; KD., II, 22; N., 78; SB., VIII, 3; = चन्द्रानन N., 78.
83 कामिनीमोहन .. *20* (4 रगण). CK., 10.
84 पथ्या .. .. *20* (4×3, 5, 1S). VJS., III, 24; = शालभञ्जिका VJS., IV, 79.
85 क्रीडनक * .. .. *20* (4×3, 5, 3). H., IV, 61; VJS., IV, 21.
86 शुभा .. .. *20* (2, 4, ज, 4, ज, 2). VJS., IV, 97.
87 कुमुदक .. .. *20* (4, 5, 5, भ, S). VJS., IV, 62.
88 हंसी .. .. *20* (4, 5, 4, 5, S). VJS., III, 23.
89 सुप्रभा .. .. *20* (4, 5, 4, 4, 1S). VJS., III, 14.
90 श्री .. .. *20* (5 सगण). VJS., III, 21; = भ्रमरावलि VJS., IV, 61.
91 तरङ्गक .. .. *20* (4 भगण, SS). VJS., IV, 22.
92 शुभगलित .. .. *20* (6, 3×4, S). H., IV, 22.
93 हीरावली .. .. *20* (5, 5, 4, 6). H., IV, 40.
94 अरविन्दक .. .. *20* (6, 5, 4, 3, 2). H., IV, 62.
95 आवली * .. .. *20* (6, 4×3, 2). H., IV, 50.
96 प्लवंगम .. .. *21* (6×3, 1S). PP., I, 186-188.
97 आभाणक .. .. *21* (4×5, 1). CK., 17.
98 दर्दुर (रासक) .. *21* (4, 5, 5, 4, 1S). H., V, 10.
99 आमोद (रासक) .. *21* (4, र, ज, म, S). H., V, 11.
100 रासावलय .. .. *21* (6, 4 (except ज), 6, 5). H., V, 26; KD., II, 25. This is also called चतुष्पदी or वस्तुक H., V, 26 Com.
101 रासक .. .. *21* (18, न; *14*, 7). H., V, 3; SB., VIII, 50.
102 सौम्या .. .. *21* (5, 5, 4, 4, 1S). VJS., III, 27; = रमणीयक VJS., IV, 26; संपिण्डिता गलिता VJS., IV, 89.
103 गलितक .. .. *21* (5, 5, 4, 4, 3). H., IV, 17; KD., II, 23.
104 उपगलितक .. *21* (5, 5, 4, 4, 3 with 3rd and 6th Mātrās represented by a short letter and two यमकs). H., IV, 18.
105 अन्तरगलितक .. *21* (*5, 5, 4, 4, 3 with 2nd and 4th lines rhymed* or with 1st and 4th lines rhymed). H., IV, 19.
106 मञ्जरी .. .. *21* (3, 3, 4×3, 3). H., IV, 53.
107 तरङ्गक * .. .. *21* (6, 1, 2, 1, 4, 2, S, 3). H., IV, 66.
108 अवतंसक (रासक) .. *22* (4, 5, ज, ज, य). H., V, 5.
109 कुन्द (रासक) .. *22* (4, 5, 5, ज, SS). H., V, 6.
110 अश्वाक्रान्ता .. *22* (भ×5, S). VJS., III, 32-33.
111 वनराजि .. .. *22* (4, 5, 5, ज, SS). VJS., III, 37.

112 रत्नमाला .. .. *22* (4, 5, 5, 4, स). VJS., III, 39.
113 ललिता .. .. *22* (4×5, S). VJS., IV, 60.
114 अन्तुल्लक .. .. *22* (4, ज, 4×3, S). VJS., IV, 83.
115 कुमुदिनी .. .. *22* (4×3, ज, 4, S). VJS., IV, 98.
116 लम्बिता I .. .. *22* (2, 4, ज, 4, ज, 4). VJS., IV, 96.
117 लम्बिता II .. *22* (4×5, 2; जगण not allowed in odd places). H., IV, 34.
118 नर्कुटक I .. .. *22* (6, 1, 2, 1, 4, 2, S, स). H., IV, 64.
119 नर्कुटक * II .. *22* (4, 5, 5, 4, SS). VJS., IV, 25.
120 समनर्कुटक .. .. *22* (6, ज, स×3). H., IV, 65.
121 मागधनर्कुटी .. *22* (6, 1, 2, 1, 4, 2, S, SS). H., IV, 63.
122 हेला * .. .. *22* (6, 4×4). H., IV, 49; SB., IV, 41.
123 विलम्बिता .. .. *22* (6, 4×4). H., IV, 31 (same as हेला but with one common यमक).
124 हीर * .. .. *23* (6, 6, 6, र). PP., I, 199.
125 विगलितक .. .. *23* (5, 5, 4, 4, 5). H., IV, 20.
126 रासक II .. .. *23* (4×5, 1S; *14, 11*). H., V, 4; KD., II, 23.
127 श्यामा .. .. *23* (5, 5, 4, 4, 11S). VJS., III, 28.
128 महातोणक .. .. *23* (5, 4, 5, 4, 5). H., IV, 43.
129 खञ्जक .. .. *23* (3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3, S). H., IV, 42; KD., II, 23.
130 पवनोद्धुत .. .. *23* (6, 1, 2, 1, 4, 2, S1SS). H., IV, 67.
131 काव्य * .. .. *24* (6, 4, 4, 4, 6). CK., 12, 13, 31, 38; PP., I, 109; =रोडक CK., 13; =वस्तुक CK., 13; PP., I, 114.
132 रोला .. .. *24*. PP., I, 91.
133 उत्साह * .. .. *24* (4×6). H., V, 2; KD., II, 26; R., V, 7; SB., IV, 5.
134 वस्तुवदन * .. *24* (6, 4, 4, 4, 6). H., V, 25; KD., II, 25; R., V, 18.
135 करभक (रासक) .. *24* (5, 5, 4, 4, ज, S). H., V, 7.
136 इन्द्रगोप (रासक) .. *24* (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, S). H., V, 8.
137 ललिता I .. .. *24* (4, 4, 5, 4, 5, 2). H., IV, 36.
138 ललिता II .. *24* (4, 4, र, 4, र, S). VJS., IV, 93.
139 द्रुता .. .. *24* (4, 4, ज, 4, ज, 4). VJS., III, 36.
140 लक्ष्मी .. .. *24* (4, 5, 5, 5, 1SS). VJS., III, 30.
141 चन्द्रलेखा .. .. *24* (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 2). H., IV, 60; KD., II, 24.
142 सालभञ्जिका .. *24* (3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3, 3). H., IV, 54.
143 वस्तुक .. .. *25* (4, 4, S1, S1, 4, 4, 3). H., V, 24.
144 कोकिल (रासक) .. *25* (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 1S). H., V, 9.
145 समगलितक .. *25* (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 3). H., IV, 23.
146 नलिनी .. .. *25* (4, 5, 5, ज, 4, 1S). VJS., IV, 99.

147 विच्छित्ति .. .. *25* (5, 4, 5, 4, 5, 2). H., IV, 35.
148 कुसुमिता .. .. *25* (4, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3). H., IV, 55.
149 मधुकरी .. .. *25* (5×5). H., IV, 75; KD., II, 22 Com.
150 मेधा .. .. *25* (4×5, 1SS). VJS., III, 31.
151 अधिकाक्षरा * .. *25* (4×5, 5). H., IV, 69; VJS., IV, 24.
152 गगनाङ्ग * .. *25* (4, 18, 1S). PP., I, 149.
153 मुग्धिका * .. .. *26* (4×3, 5, 4, 5). H., IV, 70.
154 चित्रलेखा .. .. *26* (5, 4×4, 5). H., IV, 71.
155 कामलेखा * .. *27* (6, 4×4, 3, S). H., IV, 59.
156 मल्लिका .. .. *27* (5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 5). H., IV, 72.
157 मालती .. .. *27* (4×5, 5, S). VJS., III, 35.
158 द्विपदी * .. .. *28* (6, 4×5, S). CK., 35; H., IV, 56; PP., I, 152-153.
159 गीत .. .. *28* (5, 6, 5, 5, 5, S). CK., 18 =हरिगीत; PP., I, 191.
160 रचिता I .. .. *28* (4, 5, 5, स, स, ज, S). VJS., III, 25.
161 रचिता II* .. *28* (=द्विपदी). H., IV, 57 =रतिका.
162 कोट्टुम्भक .. .. *28* (भ or SS, र, 5, स, स, ज, S). VJS., IV, 53.
163 दीपिका .. .. *28* (5, 5, 4, 5, 4, 5). H., IV, 73.
164 लक्ष्मिका * .. *28* (mixed lines of 25 to 28). H., IV, 74.
165 विद्रुम (रासक) .. *28* (म, र, 1S, 5, 5, स). H., V, 12.
166 मरहट्टा .. .. *29* (6, 4×5, S1; *10, 8*). PP., I, 208.
167 मेघ (रासक) .. *29* (र, म×4). H., V, 13.
168 चतुष्पदी .. .. *30* (4×7, 2). CK., 37; PP., I, 97; cf. No. 176.
169 सामुद्गका * .. *30* (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4, SS). VJS., IV, 56.
170 उद्गता गलितक * .. *30* (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 4.). VJS., IV, 52, 95.
171 संगता .. .. *30* (7, भ, S). VJS., III, 34.
172 वंशस्था .. .. *30* (4, 5, 5, स, 4, 4, स). VJS., III, 30.
173 नवकोकिल .. .. *30* (5×6). H., IV, 75; KD., II, 22 Com.
174 आरनाल .. .. *30* (6, 4×5, SS). H., IV, 58.
175 उग्रगलितक * .. *30* (6, 4×5, SS). H., IV, 27.
176 हुक्का .. .. *30* (*18, 12*). CK., 45; =चतुष्पदी cf. No. 168.
177 विनता I .. .. *31* (4×6, 5, S). H., IV, 51; VJS., III, 29.
178 विनता II .. .. *31* (4, ज, 4, ज, 4, ज, 5, S). VJS., III, 12.
179 दण्डक .. .. *32* (4×8). CK., 30.
180 दण्डकल .. .. *32* (4×4, 6, 4, 4, S). PP., I, 179.
181 पद्मावती .. .. *32* (4×8; जगण avoided): CK., 50; PP., I, 144.
182 लीलावती .. .. *32* (4×7, स). PP., I, 189.
183 त्रिभङ्गी .. .. *32* (4×7, 2, S जगण avoided; *10, 8, 8, 6*). PP., I, 194.

184 दुर्मिला * .. .. *32* (4×8; *10, 8, 14*). CK., 16; PP., I, 196-197.
185 जलहरण .. .. *32* (30 short, S; *10, 8, 14*). PP., I, 202.
186 मालागलिता .. *33* (4, 5, 4, 4, 5, 4, 4, 18). H., IV, 30.
187 खण्डोद्गता * .. *34* (4, 5, 4×5, 5). H., IV, 32.
188 प्रसृता .. .. *35* (4, 5, 5, 4×4, 5). H., IV, 33.
189 काममीला .. .. *35* (5×7). H., IV, 75; KD., II, 22 Com.
190 मुग्धगलिता .. *38* (6, 4×7, 2, S). H., IV, 26.
191 सुतारा .. .. *40* (5×8). H., IV, 75; KD., II, 22 Com.
192 मदनगृहा .. .. *40* (2, 4×9, S; जगण excepted). PP., I, 205.
193 वसन्तोत्सव .. *45* (5×9). H., IV, 75; KD., II, 22 Com.
194 मालागलितक * .. *46* (6, 4×10). H., IV, 25.
195 समशीर्षक * .. *47* (*55, 63*, etc.). H., IV, 82; R., V, 4.
196 मालाशीर्षक .. *49* (4×11, 5). VJS., IV, 39.
197 विषमशीर्षक * .. *50* (*58, 66*, etc.). H., IV, 83; R., V, 5.

IV. अर्धसमचतुष्पदी

(Divisible into two similar halves)

1 चम्पककुसुम .. *7-8*. H., VI, 19, 4; R., V, 37; SB., VI, 2.
2 सामुद्गक .. .. *7–9*. H., VI, 19, 5; R., V, 39; SB., VI, 5.
3 मल्हणक .. .. *7–10*. H., VI, 19, 6; R., V, 41; SB., VI, 7.
4 सुभगविलास .. *7–11*. H., VI, 19, 7; R., V, 43; SB., VI, 8.
5 केसर .. .. *7–12*. H., VI, 19, 8; R., V, 45; SB., VI. 10.
6 रास .. *7–13*. H., V, 16; =रावणहस्तक (-मस्तक SB.) H., VI 19, 9; R., V, 47; SB., VI, 14.
7 सिंहविजृम्भित .. *7–14*. H., VI, 19, 10; R., V, 49; SB., VI, 17.
8 मकरन्दिका .. *7–15*. H., VI, 19, 11; R., V, 51; SB., VI, 20.
9 मधुकरविलसित .. *7–16*. H., VI, 19, 12; R., V, 53; SB., VI, 23.
10 चम्पककुसुमावर्त .. *7–17*. H., VI, 19, 13; R., V, 55; SB., VI, 26.
11 मुग्धगलिता * .. *7–25* (33, 41, 49, 57). H., IV, 24; VJS., IV, 100-101.
11*a* खण्डोद्गत * .. *7–57*. VJS., IV. 47.
12 सुमनोरमा .. .. *8–7*. H., VI, 20, 59; R., V, 38; SB., VI, 3.
13 मणिरत्नप्रभा .. *8-9*. H., VI, 19, 14; R., V, 59; SB., VI, 29.
14 कुङ्कुमतिलक .. *8–10*. H., VI, 19, 15; R., V, 61; SB., VI, 31.
15 छड्डुणिका .. .. *8–10*. SB., VIII, 18.
16 चम्पकशेखर (केसर SB.) *8–11*. H., VI, 19, 16; SB., VI, 33; R., V, 63.
17 क्रीडनक .. .. *8–12*. H., VI, 19, 17; R., V, 65; SB., VI, 35.

18	बकुलामोद . .	. .	*8–13.* H., VI, 19, 18; R., V, 67; SB., VI, 38.
19	मन्मथतिलक	. .	*8–14.* H., VI, 19, 19; R., V, 69; SB., VI, 41.
20	मालाविलसित	. .	*8–15.* H., VI, 19, 20; R., V, 71; SB., VI, 44.
21	पुण्यामलक . .	. .	*8–16.* H., VI, 19, 21; R., V, 73; SB., VI, 47.
22	नवकुसुमितपल्लव	. .	*8–17.* H., VI, 19, 22; R., V, 75; =कंकेल्लिनवपल्लव SB., VI, 50.
23	पङ्कज . .	. .	*9–7.* H., VI, 20, 60; R., V, 40; SB., VI, 4.
24	चन्द्रहास . .	. .	*9–8.* H., VI, 20, 69; R., V, 60; SB., VI, 30.
25	मलयमारुत	. .	*9-10.* H., VI, 19, 23; R., V, 79; SB., VI, 54.
26	मदनावास . .	. .	*9–11.* H., VI, 19, 24; R., V, 81; SB., VI, 57.
27	खञ्जक . .	. .	*9–11* (4, र, 4, 2, र). VJS., IV, 18.
28	माङ्गलिका	. .	*9–12.* H., VI, 19, 25; =मङ्गलिका R., V, 83; कुङ्कुमकला SB., VI, 60.
29	अभिसारिका	. .	*9–13.* H., VI, 19, 26; R., V, 85; SB., VI, 62.
30	विपुला . .	. .	*9–13* (स, य; 4, स, य). VJS., III, 47.
31	कुसुमनिरन्तर	. .	*9–14.* H., VI, 19, 27; R., V, 85; SB., VI, 64. =घत्ता SB., VIII, 24.
32	मदनोदक . .	. .	*9–15.* H., VI, 19, 28; R., V, 89; SB., VI, 67.
33	चन्द्रोद्योत . .	. .	*9–16.* H., VI, 19, 29; R., V, 91; SB., VI, 70.
34	रत्नावली . .	. .	*9–17.* H., VI, 19, 30; R., V, 93; SB., VI, 73.
35	कुञ्जर . .	. .	*10–7.* H., VI, 19, 61; R., V, 42; SB., VI, 6.
36	गोरोचना . .	. .	*10–8.* H., VI, 19, 70; R., V, 62; =तारागणा SB., VI, 32.
37	मधुकरीसंलाप	. .	*10–9.* H., VI, 19, 78; R., V, 80; =मार्गविश्राय: SB., VI, 56.
38	भ्रूचंक्रणक . .	. .	*10-11.* H., VI, 19, 31; R., V, 97; SB., VI, 79.
39	मुक्ताफलमाला	. .	*10–12.* H., VI, 19, 32; R., V, 99.
40	चपला . .	. .	*10–12* (4, ज, S; 4, 5, 1S). VJS., III, 48.
41	कोकिलावली	. .	*10–13.* H., VI, 19, 33; R., V, 101; SB., VI, 82; =छड्डुणिका II SB., VIII, 10.
42	सुमुखी . .	. .	*10–13* (4, 4, S; 4, 4, 1SS). VJS., III, 49.
43	मधुकरवृन्द	. .	*10–14.* H., VI, 19, 34; R., V, 103; SB., VI, 85.
44	केतकीकुसुम	. .	*10–15.* H., VI, 19, 35; R., V, 105; SB., VI, 88.
45	नवविद्युन्माला	. .	*10–16.* H., VI, 19, 36; R., V, 107; SB., VI, 91.
46	त्रिवलीतरङ्गक	. .	10–17. H., VI, 19, 37; R., V, 109; SB., VI, 93.
47	मदनातुर . .	. .	*11–7.* H., VI, 20, 62; R., V, 44; SB., VI, 9.
48	कुसुमबाण . .	. .	*11–8.* H., VI, 20, 71; R., V, 64; SB., VI, 34.
49	सुखावास . .	. .	*11–9.* H., VI, 20, 79; R., V, 82; SB., VI, 59.

50	विद्युल्लता	*11–10.* H., VI, 20, 86; R., V, 98; SB., VI, 81.
51	अरविन्दक	*11-12.* H., VI, 19, 38; R., V, 113; SB., VI, 96.
52	विभ्रमविलसितवदन ..	*11–13.* H., VI, 19, 39; R., V, 115; SB., VI, 99.
53	अवदोहक	*11–13.* KD., II, 15; =सोरट्ठ CK., 25; PP., I, 170.
54	नवपुष्पन्धय ..	*11–14.* H., VI, 19, 40; R., V, 117; SB., VI, 101.
55	किन्नरमधुर-(मिथुन H.) विलास.. ..	*11–15.* H., VI, 19, 41; R., V, 119; SB., VI, 104.
56	विद्याधर-ललिता (-लीला H.)	*11–16.* H., VI, 19, 42; R., V, 120; SB., VI, 106.
57	सारङ्ग	*11–17.* H., VI, 19, 43; R., V, 122; SB., VII, 108.
58	भ्रमरावली ..	*12–7.* H., VI, 20, 63; R., V, 46; SB., VI, 12.
59	मालतीकुसुम ..	*12–8.* H., VI, 20, 72; R., V, 66; SB., VI, 37.
60	कुङ्कुमलेखा ..	*12–9.* H., VI, 20, 80; R., V, 84; SB., VI, 61; =छड्डणिका SB., VIII, 14.
61	पञ्चाननललिता	*12–10.* H., VI, 20, 87; KD., II, 14; R., V, 100.
62	मकरध्वजहास ..	*12–11.* H., VI, 20, 93; R., V, 114; SB., VI, 97; =उपदोहक KD., II, 16.
63	कामिनीहास ..	*12-13.* H., VI, 19, 44; R., V, 125; SB., VI, 111.
64	अपदोहक	*12–14.* H., VI, 19, 45; R., V, 10; 127; SB., VI, 115.
65	श्वेता	*12–14* (4, 5, 1S; 4, 4, ज, S). VJS., III, 54.
66	भामिनी	*12–14* (स, स, स ; भ, भ, भ, S). VJS., III, 51.
67	चन्द्रोद्योतक ..	*12–14* (4×3; 4×3, S). VJS., IV, 84.
68	प्रेमविलास.. ..	*12–15.* H., VI, 19, 46; R., V, 129; SB., VI, 118.
69	काञ्चनमाला ..	*12–16.* H., VI, 19, 47; R., V, 131; SB., VI, 120.
70	जलधरविलसित ..	*12–17.* H., VI, 19, 48; R., V, 133; SB., VI, 122.
71	पङ्कजश्री	*13–7.* H., VI, 20, 64; R., V, 48; SB., VI, 13.
72	नागकेसर	*13–8.* H., VI, 20, 73; R., V, 68; SB., VI, 40.
73	कुवलयदाम ..	*13–9.* H., VI, 20, 81; R., V, 86; =कुरबकदाम SB., VI, 63.
74	मरकतमाला ..	*13–10.* H., VI, 20, 88; R., V, 102; SB., VI, 84.
75	भ्रमरधवल.. ..	*13–10* (6, 4, 3; 6, 4). H., V, 37; R., V, 25.
76	दोहक	13-11. CK., 21; KD., II, 15 (13=8, 1S); PP., I, 78.
	=कुसुमाकुलमधुकर ..	H., VI, 20, 94; R., V, 116; SB., VI, 100.
77	उपदोहक	*13–12.* H., VI, 20, 99; R., V, 11; 127; SB., VI, 113.
78	अभिनवमृगाङ्कलेखा ..	*13-14.* H., VI, 19, 49; R., V, 137; SB., VI, 125.
79	अमरधवल.. ..	*13–14* (6, 4, 3; 6, 4, 4). H., V, 38.
80	सहकारकुसुममञ्जरी ..	*13–15.* H., VI, 19, 50; R., V, 139; SB., VI, 127.
81	नन्दा	*13–15* (4, 5, 4; 4, 4, ज, 1S). VJS., III, 53.

82 कामिनीक्रीडनक .. .. *13–16.* H., VI, 19, 51; R., V, 142; SB., VI, 130.
=चूलिका .. .. CK., 26; PP., I, 167; चूडालदोहक KD., II, 17.
83 कामिनीकङ्कणहस्तक .. *13–17.* H., VI, 19, 52; R., V, 144; SB., VI, 132.
84 उपचूलिका .. .. *13–21.* CK., 27.
85 किङ्किणी .. .. *14–7.* H., VI, 20, 65; R., V, 50; SB., VI, 16.
86 नवचम्पकमाला .. *14–8.* H., VI, 20, 74; R., V, 70; SB., VI, 43.
87 कलहंस .. .. *14–9.* H., VI, 20, 82; R., V, 88; SB., VI, 66.
88 अभिनववसन्तश्री .. *14–10.* H., VI, 20, 89; R., V, 104; SB., VI, 87.
89 भ्रमरविलास .. *14–11.* H., VI, 20, 95; R., V, 117; SB., VI, 103.
90 दोहक .. .. *14–12.* H., VI, 20, 100; (or, द्विपथक) R., V, 9, 129; SB., VI, 116.
91 द्विपथक .. .. *14–12* (4×3, S; 4, 4, SS). VJS., IV, 27.
92 छड्डुणिका .. .. *14–12.* SB., VIII, 8.
93 कुसुमितकेतकीहस्त .. *14–13.* H., VI, 20, 105; R., V, 138; SB., VI, 126.
94 मुखपालनतिलक .. *14–15.* H., VI, 19, 53; R., V, 147; =वरतिलक SB., VI, 135.
95 वसन्तलेखा .. .. *14–16.* H., VI, 19, 54; R., V, 149; SB., VI, 137.
96 गुणधवल I .. *14–16* (6, 4, 4; 6, 4, 4, 2). H., V, 36.
97 प्रसन्ना .. .. *14–16* (भ, भ, भ S; स×4). VJS., III, 52.
98 मागधिका .. .. *14–16* (6, र, 1S; 8, र, 1S); VJS., IV, 28; =वैतालीय A SK. metre KD., V, 1.
99 आपातलिका .. *14–16* (6, भ, SS; 8, भ, SS). VJS., IV, 50.
100 सारसिका .. .. *14–16* (स, स, स, S; भ, भ, भ, SS). VJS., III, 50.
101 विन्दुतिलक .. *14–16* (4, 4, 4, S; 4, 4, 5, 1S). VJS., IV, 66.
102 विषमगलिता .. *14–16* (4, ज, 4, S; 4, 5, 5, S). VJS., IV, 104.
103 मधुरालापिनीहस्त .. *14–17.* H., VI, 19, 55; R., V, 151; SB., VI, 139.
104 गुणधवल II .. *14–17* (6, 4, 4; 6, 4, 4, 3). H., V, 36; R., V, 24.
105 कुङ्कुमलता .. *15–7.* H., VI, 20, 66; R., V, 52; SB., VI, 19.
106 विद्याधर .. .. *15–8.* H., VI, 20, 75; R., V, 72; SB., VI, 46.
107 सन्ध्यावली .. .. *15–9.* H., VI, 20, 83; R., V, 90; SB., VI, 69.
108 मनोहरा .. .. *15–10.* H., VI, 20, 90; R., V, 106; SB., VI, 89.
109 मदनविलास .. *15–11.* H., VI, 20, 96; R., V, 119; SB., VI, 105. =संदोहक KD., II, 16; उद्गाथक CK., 28.
110 चन्द्रलेखिका .. *15–12.* H., VI, 20, 102; R., V, 130; SB., VI, 119.
111 कुञ्जरविलसित .. *15–13.* H., VI, 20, 106; R., V, 140; SB., VI, 129.
112 अनङ्गललिता .. *15–14.* H., VI, 20, 109; R., V, 148; SB., VI, 136.
113 मुखपङ्क्ति .. .. *15–16.* H., VI, 19, 56; SB., VI, 142; =पङ्क्ति R., V, 154.

114 कुसुमलतागृह .. *15–17.* H., VI, 19, 57; R., V, 156; SB., VI, 143.
115 शशिशेखर .. .. *16–7.* H., VI, 20, 67; R., V, 54; SB., VI, 22.
116 कुब्जककुसुम .. *16–8.* H., VI, 20, 76; R., V, 74; SB., VI, 49.
117 कुञ्जरललिता .. *16–9.* H., VI, 20, 84; R., V, 92; =अङ्गदललिता SB., VI, 72.
118 छड्डुणिका .. .. *16–9* (4×4; 4, 4, 1). SB., VIII, 12.
119 आक्षिप्तिका .. *16–10.* H., VI, 20, 91; R., V, 108, SB., VI, 92.
120 विद्याधरहास .. *16–11.* H., VI, 20, 97; R., V, 121; SB., VI, 107.
121 सुतालिङ्गन *16–12.* H., VI, 20, 103; R., V, 132; SB., VI, 121.
122 राजहंस .. .. *16–13.* H., VI, 20, 107; R., V, 143; SB., VI, 131.
123 मन्मथविलसित .. *16–14.* H., VI, 20, 110; R., V, 150; SB., VI, 138. =चउवोला PP., I, 131.
124 कज्जललेखा .. *16–15.* H., VI, 20, 112; R., V, 155; SB., VI, 142.
125 रत्नमाला .. .. 16–17. H., VI, 19, 58; R., V, 160; SB., VI, 145.
126 औपच्छन्दसिक .. *16–18* (6, र, य ; 8, र, य). KD., V, 2; VJS., IV, 49.
127 कदम्बशिरस् .. *17–7.* SB., VI, 25; =लीलालय H., VI, 20, 68; R., V, 56.
128 कुसुमास्तरण .. *17–8.* H., VI, 20, 77; R., V, 52; SB., VI, 76.
129 कुसुमावली .. *17–9.* H., VI, 20, 85; R., V, 94; SB., VI, 75.
130 किन्नरलीला .. *17–10.* H., VI, 20, 92; R., V, 110; SB., VI, 94.
131 कुसुमायुधशेखर .. *17–11.* H., VI, 20, 98; R., V, 123; SB., VI, 109.
132 कंकेल्लिलताभवन (-भरण) *17–12.* H., VI, 20, 104; R., V, 134; SB., VI, 123.
133 अशोकपल्लवच्छाया .. *17–13.* H., VI, 20, 108; R., V, 145; SB., VI, 133.
134 ओहुल्लणक or वारंगडी .. *17–14.* H., VI, 20, 111; R., V, 152; SB., VI, 140.
135 किलिकिञ्चित .. *17–15.* H., VI, 20, 113; R., V, 157; SB., VI, 143.
136 शशिबिम्बित .. *17–16.* H., VI, 20, 114; R., V, 161; SB., VI, 145.
137 वेसर .. .. *16, 16; 15, 15.* CK., 20.
138 घत्ता .. .. *18–13.* CK., 43 (cf., VII, 27 below).

V. विषमचतुष्पदी

1 छड्डुणिका .. .. *12, 12, 12, 13.* SB., VIII, 17.
2 चूडामणि .. .. *13, 11, 12, 15.* CK., 48.
3 वेरालु .. .. *13, 11, 13, 15.* CK., 33.

VI. पञ्चपदी

1 करही मात्रा .. *13, 11, 13, 11, 13.* PP., I, 137; VJS., IV, 30 Com.
2 नन्दा मात्रा .. *14, 11, 14, 11, 14.* PP., I, 138.

3	मोदनिका मात्रा	.. *14, 12, 14, 12, 14.* VJS., IV, 30 Com.
4	चारुसेनी मात्रा	.. *15, 11, 15, 11, 15.* PP., I, 140.
5	भद्रा मात्रा	.. *15, 12, 15, 12, 15.* PP., I, 141.
6	राजसेना मात्रा	.. *15, 12, 15, 11, 15.* PP., I, 142 (cf. also I, 133).
7	चारुनेत्री मात्रा	.. *15, 13, 15, 13, 15* VJS., IV, 30 Com.
8	तालङ्किनी मात्रा	.. *16, 12, 16, 11, 16.* PP., I, 143.
9	मात्रा ..	.. *16, 12, 16, 12, 16.* H., V, 17; R., V, 12; SB., IV, 14.
10	मत्तमधुकरी	.. *16, 11* or *12*; *16, 11* or *12, 16.* H., V, 19; KD., II, 28 Com., R., V, 13; SB., IV, 16.
11	मत्तवालिका	.. *16, 12* or *13, 16, 12* or *13, 16.* H., V, 18; KD., II, 28 Com., R., V, 13; SB., IV, 16.
12	राहुसेनी ..	.. *16, 14, 16, 14, 16.* VJS., IV, 30 Com.
13	मत्तविलासिनी	.. *16, 12, 14* or *16, 12, 14* or *16.* H., V, 20; KD., II, 28 Com., R., V, 14; SB., IV, 22.
14	मत्तकरिणी	.. *16, 12, 16* or *17, 12, 16* or *17.* H., V, 21; KD., II, 28 Com., R., V, 14; SB., IV, 22.
15	मोहिनी ..	.. *19, 11, 19, 11, 19.* PP., I, 139.
16	बहुरूपा ..	.. Mixture of all the different lines. H., V, 22; KD., II, 28 Com., R., V, 15; SB., IV, 25.

VII. षट्पदी

(Divisible into two similar halves)

1–8	षट्पदजाति	.. *7, 7, 10 to 17.* H., VI, 15; KD., II, 29 Com.; R., V, 30–32; SB., V, 3, 4.
9–16	उपजाति ..	.. *8, 8, 10 to 17.* H., VI, 16; KD., II, 29 Com.; R., V, 30–32; SB., V, 6.
17–24	अवजाति ..	.. *9, 9, 10 to 17.* H., VI, 17; KD., II, 29 Com.; R., V., 30–32; SB., V, 8.
25	घत्ता ..	.. *8, 8, 11* (also called ध्रुवा, ध्रुवक or छड्डुणिका). KD., II, 29 Com.
26	घत्ता ..	.. *10, 8, 11* (also called ध्रुवा, ध्रुवक or छड्डुणिका). KD., II, 29. Also cf. III, 166 above.
26*a*	घत्ता ..	.. *10, 8, 12.* See above III, 168, 176.
27	घत्ता ..	.. *10, 8, 13* (also called ध्रुवा, ध्रुवक or छड्डुणिका). (CK., 43); KD., II, 29; (PP., I, 99); SB., VIII, 20.
27*a*	घत्ता ..	.. *10, 8, 14.* See above III, 180–185.
27*b*	घत्ता ..	.. *10, 8, 22* (*14, 8*). See above III, 192.
28	झुल्लण ..	.. *10, 10, 17.* PP., I, 156 (also cf. I, 84).
29	रसिका ..	.. *11, 11, 11.* PP., I, 86.

30	घत्ता ..		*12, 8, 11.* KD., II, 30.
31	घत्ता ..	..	*12, 8, 12.* KD., II, 30.
32	घत्ता ..	..	*12, 8, 13.* KD., II, 29.
33	कीर्तिधवल ..	..	*14, 8, 16* or *17.* H., V, 35; KD., II, 32; R., V, 23.

VIII. अष्टपदी

1	श्रीधवल ..	..	*14, 8, 14, 8* (4×2). KD., II, 34; H., V, 33.
2	यशोधवल ..	..	14, 12, 14, 12 / 11, 10, 11, 10 } H., V, 34; R., V, 22.
3	यशोधवल ..	..	14, 12, 14, 12 / 11, 12, 11, 12 } H., V, 34.

IX. द्विभङ्गी

(Strophes of 2 stanzas in different metres)

1 अधिकाक्षरा (III, 151)+गीति (I, 30) = अधिकाक्षराशीर्षक VJS., IV, 43–45.
2 अश्वाक्रान्ता (III, 110)+गाथा (II, 4) = सोपानक VJS., IV, 77-78.
3 आभाणक (III, 97)+उल्लाल (I, 22-23) = रासाकुल CK., 29.
4 काव्य (III, 131)+उल्लाल (I, 22-23) = षट्पद CK., 12; PP., I, 105.
5 गाथा (II, 4)+कामिनीमोहन (III, 82) = चन्द्रायनी CK., 39.
6 गाथा (II, 4)+काव्य (III, 131) = कुण्डलिनी CK., 38.
7 गाथा (II, 4)+त्रिकलक (X, 4) = तल VJS., IV, 80 (cf. XI, 1).
8 घत्ता (X, 27)+घत्ता (X, 27) = द्विभङ्गी KD., II, 36.
9 संगतक ? (भभभसस)+गाथा (II, 4) = संगतक VJS., IV, 64-65.
10 मालाशीर्षक (III, 196)+गीति (I, 30) = मालाशीर्षक VJS., IV, 39-40.
11 दोहा (IV, 76)+कामिनीमोहन (III, 83) = चन्द्रायन CK., 32.
12 दोहा (IV, 76)+काव्य (III, 131) = कुण्डलिक CK., 31; PP., I, 146.
13 दोहा (IV, 76)+घत्ता (X, 27) = द्विभङ्गी KD., II, 36.
14 दोहा (IV, 76)+वस्तुवदन (II, 134) = द्विभङ्गी KD., II, 35.
15 दोहा (IV, 76)+संदोहक (IV, 110) = तरल KD., II, 34.
16 द्विपदी (III, 158)+गीति (I, 30) = द्विभङ्गी H., IV, 78; KD., II, 35; R., V, 2.
17 भ्रमरावली (III, 90)+गाथा (II, 4) = खडहडक VJS., IV, 74-75.
18 मात्रा (VI, 9)+दोहा (IV, 76) = रड्डा or वस्तु H., V, 23; CK., 34; KD., II, 35; PP., I, 133–143; R., V, 15; VJS., IV, 31.
19 मात्रा (VI, 9)+उल्लाल (I, 22) = फुल्ल KD., II, 33.
20 वस्तुवदन (III, 134)+दोहा (IV, 76) = द्विभङ्गी KD., II, 35.
21 वस्तुवदन (III, 134)+उल्लाल (I, 22) = काव्य, or षट्पद or सार्धच्छन्दस् H., IV, 79 Com.; KD., II, 33; PP., I, 120ff.

(*To be continued.*)

EARLY STAGES OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN NORTHERN INDIA

By D. D. Kosambi

1. It is not my intention to describe here the Indian caste system as it exists today, for the reader has access to all the documents [1] from which such a treatment would have to be condensed. Modern caste combines loosely several features of tribal and guild organization incorporated into theoretically rigid endogamic groups. This contemporary division into an almost innumerable set of castes does not, however, agree with the oldest theoretical division into just four: the priest *Brāhmaṇa*, the warrior-ruler *Kṣatriya*, the trader-householder *Vaiśya*, and the worker *Śūdra*. An attempt [2] has been made to identify the older *varṇa* (colour) division with classes and the modern but coexistent *jāti* scheme with tribal units. But this suffers from omission of the craftsmen's guilds, and from a static conception of caste—which is not surprising as caste in itself is an attempt at the negation of history. On the other hand, it has been denied categorically that the older four-caste system ever existed [3] at any time or place though so many Indian sources of unquestionable age and authenticity refer to it as a well-known contemporary institution.

One book on caste and race in India [4] states: "Whatever might have been the Buddha's own views and practice, it is indubitable that his immediate followers believed in the time-honoured institutions of caste, and being most probably Kṣatriyas themselves, utilized the opportunity offered by Buddha's revolt, to establish Kṣatriya pre-eminence among the four castes. The complete discomfiture of the Kṣatriyas within the Brāhmaṇic fold had made this course inevitable. Measuring their strength with the Brahmins and failing in the contest, they naturally turned their attention to the masses."

The statements in this extract, when they convey any meaning at all, are demonstrably wrong. Buddha's views are quite well-attested by the earliest texts of the Pali canon, which the author ignores entirely. Buddha's "revolt" was against Brāhmaṇic sacrifices, not against the caste system nor for Kṣatriya pre-eminence which was traditional and acknowledged except in the functions of a priest. As the Brāhmaṇic fold, strictly speaking, contains only Brāhmaṇas, "the complete discomfiture of the Kṣatriyas within" it is meaningless. Buddha's immediate followers are all known by name [5] and origin so that they cannot be made over into Kṣatriyas even by invoking the theory of probabilities. For example, Koṇḍañña and the other four who were the first converts were all Brāhmaṇas, as also the two principal apostles of the new faith Sāriputta and Moggallāna; Upāli, founder of the

[1] *India Census Reports*; E. Senart: *Caste in India*—Tr. E. Denison Ross, London, 1930; H. H. Risley, *Manual of Ethnography for India*, Calcutta, 1906; *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1915; Fick's comprehensive and attractive work, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordostlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (1897) is unfortunately based upon the *Jātaka* stories which, though they contain very old legends, can hardly be said to represent the social structure of Magadha at the time of Buddha, having been written much later, perhaps as late as the 2nd century A.D.

[2] Paul Rosas: Caste and Class in India, *Science and Society*, Vol. VII, 1943, pp. 141–167 and my own criticism, *ibid.*, VIII, 1944, pp. 243–249.

[3] *The Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith, 2nd edition revised and continued to 1921 by S. M. Edwardes; Oxford, 1922, p. 25.

[4] *Caste and Race in India* by G. S. Ghurye, London, 1932, p. 67.

[5] *Aṅguttara-nikāya* 1.14. English translation by F. L. Woodward: *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. I (London, Pali Text Society, 1932), pp. 16–25: and the commentaries thereto.

monastic rule (Vinaya), was a barber; from the lowest castes were recruited Sopāka (= dog-eater) and the scavenger Sunīta, who both reached the final stage of freedom from *karma*; the early lay disciples, of both sexes, were almost all Vaiśyas. The final sentence of the quotation above is about as accurate as "The Roman patricians, measuring their strength against the Jews and failing in the attempt naturally turned their attention to the masses". The quotation, nevertheless, has great interest as a typical Brāhmaṇic document in its disregard of sources and facts, in its sweeping but puerile conclusions, and because it is used as a text-book on the subject. Nothing better could have been expected from a study which takes Brāhmaṇic scriptures, exclusively and at their face value, without critical attention to age, origin, and context.

In attempting to trace briefly the main features of the earlier caste system down to the age of the Buddha (5th century B.C.) we shall have to keep in mind the Brāhmaṇic origin of most Sanskrit texts, and the Brāhmaṇic transmission of all of them. As far as accurate historical evidence is concerned, most of these are mere verbiage; an occasional reference is all we have to piece out Indian history, the confusion being aggravated by fantastically ignorant late Brāhmaṇa commentators, as well as by the fact that it is a poor Sanskrit word that has less than a dozen meanings. Most kings of whom any record survives in the literary tradition have several names each while occasionally the same name has caused sagas of two or more distinct persons to be combined. The ludicrous errors to which the misreading of a single letter [1] can lead are often perpetuated by modern writers as sober historical truth. Finally, under a deceptive appearance of uniform backwardness, India is a country of enormous variation and long survivals: querns that might belong to the Stone Age are still used in our kitchens; red pigment on idols and stones by the road-side symbolizes blood-sacrifices most of which went out of fashion centuries ago so that the very idea would shock the particular worshippers. Thus, it is dangerous to attempt without a lifetime of study any complete description of an ancient and obsolete system. The method I follow, therefore, is to utilize a few representative sources (preferably with good published translations) of proved validity, outlining thereby the main developments. Greater detail is not possible without far more criticism, while the result would be unbalanced.

At every stage, I have tried to ask myself the question: What were the means of production implied by this particular bit of evidence? This is the only essential in which my approach differs from that of the essays available to me; it will be found to account for most of the differences in the conclusions.

2. The oldest Indian tradition known is supposedly that recorded in the four Vedas; in the order of sanctity and roughly of chronology, the Ṛg-, [2] Yajur-, Sāma-, and Atharva-veda. [3] These are liturgical books amplified in associated works called *Brāhmaṇa* [4] and *Āraṇyaka*. These scriptures concentrate upon ritual, any philosophy or history having to be painfully extracted, as with most early Brahmaṇic sources. This contrasts greatly with the much more philosophic if somewhat later *Upaniṣads*, the earliest of which have strongly influenced Buddhism and are

1 Cf. V. V. Mirashi: Gāṅgeyadeva of Tirabhukti; *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute*, Vol. XXIII, 1942, pp. 291–301.

2 Cited as *RV*; any of the standard translations may be used, even the out of print versions of Griffiths or Grassmann.

3 Cited as *AV*, using the translation (if selected portions) by M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, Oxford, 1897 (Sacred Books of the East, XLII).

4 Of these, I cite for brevity mostly the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (associated with the Yajurveda) as *SB* from the English translation by J. Eggeling in Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV; Oxford, 1882–85–94–97–1900. Used and highly recommended for the general reader, but not cited is the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, 2 vols., London (Murray), 1912.

undoubtedly of Kṣatriya origin. It should be kept in mind that each of the Vedas with its associated subordinate works forms in ancient days the property of one particular clan or sect of Brāhmaṇas who developed the tradition over a long period. The difficult ritual could be mastered by the acolyte only after long study (generally twelve years of celibate life) in the absolute service of a *guru*, often in the wilderness. Later changes, therefore, are not easy to trace though their existence cannot be denied. The passing centuries have obliterated a good deal so that certain hymns and words convey no real meaning even to the most optimistic commentator, e.g. *RV*. X. 106.6 which might be of Mesopotamian origin, as also perhaps the insistence upon clay bricks for the fire-altar, hardly to be expected of nomads such as the Aryans were in earlier Vedic times. The Iṣṭāśva and Iṣṭaraśmi of *RV*. I. 122.13 may even be Achaemenid kings of the 6th century B.C., which would not invalidate the claim to antiquity for the body of that Veda.

The Ṛgveda speaks of the four major castes, tribes being outside the then localized caste scheme. "Brāhmaṇa was his (the Supreme Being's) mouth, Kṣatriya made of his arms; the Vaiśya his thighs, and the Sūdra generated from his feet" (*RV*. X. 90.12), says the particularly sacred Puruṣasūkta hymn. Yet the four-caste system is not described as prevalent outside of India, where the earliest division into Arya and Dāsa was known to persist.[1] These two racial (or tribal) names later become synonymous with noble or freeborn and subject or slave (*RV*. IV. 28.4, II, 12.4), the latter being the general Sanskrit meaning of *dāsa*, in much the same way as the (contested) etymological change from Slav to slave. Yet not all the Dāsas of the early period are slaves or enemies. Divodāsa Atithigva is ruler by favour of Indra who is at once the chief of the gods and historically the titular ruler of the Aryan invaders. Priestly Divodāsas are also described as writing new hymns in *RV*. I. 130.10, while Sudās is the author of *RV*. X. 133. Vāmadeva, author of an entire section in the oldest Veda, speaks of bitter times before the ruthless Indra gave him patronage: (*RV*. IV. 18.12-13) "Who made thy mother a widow? Who sought to slay thee in lying still or moving? Which *deva* (god) had compassion for you when thou tookest thy sire by the foot and smashed him? In extreme need I cooked a dog's entrails; among the *devas* I found no comforter. I beheld my wife in degradation.[2] Then the Falcon (Indra) brought me the sweet (mead)." On the other hand, the third section of the Ṛgveda is ascribed to the great Kṣatriya Viśvāmitra, whose prowess is belittled by Brāhmaṇic stories of his vain contest with the Brāhmaṇa Vasiṣṭha, supposed author of the seventh section of the same Veda. But the Vasiṣṭha (also called Tṛtsu, *RV*. VII. 83.8) clan is associated in some way with Divodāsa and the Dāsas, hence originally belonged to the subjected population before climbing to the Vedic school. We see two main points here: the ancient Brāhmaṇa had a hard time; the priest class of the Aryan conquerors was largely recruited from the conquered.

The function of Vedic ritual is the celebration of certain animal sacrifices at the fire-altar. The five principal sacrificial animals are in order of importance: man, horse, bull (or cow), ram, he-goat (*SB*. VI. 2.1.18), and their flesh was to be eaten as is seen from rubrics for the disposal of the carcasses, as well as by the prohibition that five animals who simulate these are not to be eaten, namely the *kiṃpuruṣa*

[1] Even in later times. The Buddha says in the *Assalāyanasaṃyutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* "O Assalayana, in Yona, Kamboja, and such frontier regions, there are only two castes: Arya and Dāsa; and sometimes an Arya becomes a Dāsa while a Dāsa becomes an Arya. Do you acknowledge this?" The young Brāhmaṇa Assalāyana admits that this is so. For Divodāsa Atithigva, cf. H. D. Velankar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Inst.*, XXIII, 1942, 657–668. Manusmṛti 10.45 implies the existence of Aryan-speaking people outside the fold of caste.

[2] I follow the Brāhmaṇic tradition of Sāyaṇa's gloss and Manusmṛti 10.106 in ascribing this to Vāmadeva himself, while scholars like Goldner and Velankar interpret this *ṛk* as Indra's.

(ape or dwarf), bos gaurus, bos gavaeus, camel, and *śarabha* (*SB*. I. 2.3). Cannibalism, however, is extinct except for ritual purposes in the Vedas; human sacrifice seems rather a traditional survival[1] like the Roman formula for capital punishment, *sacer esto*. The great Vedic sacrifice is that of the horse. This deserves consideration, for it was the horse that gave the Aryans (as it did the Mongols) their superiority in battle, possible their mobility as nomads, though the animal was not ridden but harnessed to a chariot. Indra's chariot is drawn by two tawny horses, yet his weapon, the *vajra*, is nothing but a stone hand-celt (identified with the thunderbolt when Indra became the synonym of the chief Aryan god) or perhaps a stone-headed mace of Sumerian type. We know that the principal vedic weapon was the bow, and that in addition to the horse and the chariot the Aryan invaders knew the use of iron. The Indus valley civilization knew only copper, weapons found in Mohenjo-Daro being so poor as to be useless for any except ceremonial purposes. The Dāsa opposition, therefore, must have been poor though the Vedas speak of their fortifications (*RV*. II. 19.6; VI. 20.10).

The emphasis upon the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) must necessarily date from the period when the horse was the most important domestic animal for the Aryans, as for the Mongols in historic times. That period, however, had obviously passed when the Vedic age was at its zenith, for the emphasis as far as productive economy is concerned is upon cattle, pastured in herds. Ploughing is comparatively late, mentioned in the *SB* only for ceremonial purposes; even here, both the ploughed and unploughed ground about the altar site must be sown after watering (*SB*. VII. 2.4.18). The principal cereal is barley (*yava*) into which the gods had put the essence of all other plants (*SB*. III. 6.1.10) and rice which was then obtained not by ploughing but by digging (*SB*. I. 2.3.7). But the priests' regular fee is payable in cattle as for example at the Daśapeya sacrifice for which twelve heifers with first calf are due (*SB*. V. 4.5.20), occasionally in gold chips, perhaps gold minas.

There is no question whatsoever of Brāhmaṇa superiority except at the altar-side. The Brāhmaṇa is acknowledged, even by himself, unsuited for kingship (*SB*. V. 1.1.12). Moreover, the aśvamedha is pre-eminently a Kṣatriya sacrifice (*SB*. XIII. 4.1.1.), at which apparently a Kṣatriya could officiate himself, the lame explanation being given ". . . and truly, whosoever sacrifices, sacrifices after becoming, as it were, a Brāhmaṇa" (*SB*. XIII. 4.1.3). The Brāhmaṇa is an object of respect *after* the king (*SB*. V. 4.2.7), and if the order of handing around the symbolic wooden sword used at the sacrifice makes the king weaker than the Brāhmaṇa, it is only to make the king stronger than his enemies (*SB*. V. 4.4.15). The social functions of caste are clearly set forth when it is stated that the Kṣatriya precedes on the outward sacrificial round, the Brāhmaṇa on the return, but never the other two castes. "And thus he encloses those two castes (Vaiśya and Śūdra) on both sides by the priesthood and nobility, and makes them submissive" (*SB*, VI, 4.4.13).

Final proof that Brāhmaṇa superiority was only in ritual is given by the story of king Janaka (*SB*. XI. 6.2), who defeats all the leading Brahmins, including the founder of the *SB*, Yājñavalkya himself, in interpretation of the philosophy of sacrifice as distinct from the ritual. The *sūtra* concludes with: "Thenceforth Janaka was a Brāhmaṇa". In fact, the Brāhmaṇa was worthy of respect only because of his connection with the *aśvamedha* ritual. "Those Kṣatriyas who go to the end of this (horse-sacrifice) will become (sharers of) the royal power, they will become kings worthy of being consecrated; but those who do not go to the end of this . . .

[1] But king Hariścandra, in fulfilment of a vow to sacrifice his eldest son, begins sacrifice a human substitute. Kalmāṣapāda is a cannibal (Mahābhārata 1.176) because of a curse. Human sacrifice later becomes symbolic just to avoid cannibalism. *SB*. XIII. 6.2.13. The last human *yajña* was traditionally by Śyāparṇa Sāyakāyana (*SB*. VI. 2.1.37 seq.).

will be excluded . . . And whenever ye meet with any kind of Brāhmaṇas, ask ye them 'O Brāhmaṇas, how much know ye of the *aśvamedha* ?' and those who know naught thereof ye may despoil" (*SB*. XIII. 4.2.17).

3. For what follows, it is necessary to keep in mind certain general facts of agriculture. For a given area, the pastoral life will support from a dozen to a hundred times as many people as by hunting. Cultivation of cereals will support from four to twelve times as many as by grazing cattle for meat and dairy products. The present Indian population gets along today, admittedly at a very low subsistence level even in good years, on about 0·7 acres of cultivated land per head, while pasture land has long been insufficient for the number of cattle raised on it. Now, in a given region, as the population tends to increase, they must find a severe natural check, as in the extreme cases of the Arctic or the Kalahari, or must find more land, or change to a more productive form. The land of the Gangetic basin was swampy or densely forested while the older means of production developed in the drier Indus basin were profitable to an important class, the Brāhmaṇa priests, who had fixed upon certain religious forms which would hinder the development of any primitive community beyond a certain level. There was no trouble only as long as the system proved itself capable of expansion.

Even in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* days there was an ideological protest against beef-eating, presumably dictated or at least reinforced by economic necessity: The gods gave the cow and the ox the vigour of all other species: eating their flesh would be, as it were, an eating up of everything . . . "Such a one indeed would be likely to be (re-)born as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin . . . Nevertheless, Yājñavalkya said 'I, for one, eat it, provided that it is tender'" (*SB*. III. 1.2.21). The very originator of the *SB*. tradition refuses to budge.

The expansion towards the east is also clearly recorded, as well as its methods: "(Agni, the fire) thence went burning along the earth towards the east (from the Sarasvatī river); and Gotama Rāhugaṇa and the Videgha Māthava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all the rivers. Now that river which is called the everflowing (Sadānīrā)[1] flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain; that one he did not burn over. That one the Brāhmaṇas did not cross over in former times, thinking it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara. Nowadays, however, there are many Brāhmaṇas to the east of it. At that time, it (the land east of the Sadānīrā) was very uncultivated, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara. Nowadays, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brāhmaṇas have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that river, as it were, rages along: so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara. Māthava Videgha then said (to Agni) 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this (river) be thy abode', said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas; for these are the Māthavas (descendants of Māthava)" (*SB*. I. 4.1.14–17).

The narrative is clear enough: the advance was by clearing land by burning it over, and swampy land thus dried up; the earlier drive was held up when the fire-followers came to a glacier-fed river which did not dry up in the summer. This means that the advance was not along the banks of major rivers, but along the foot-

[1] On the basis of Sāyaṇa's gloss which cites *Amarakośa* 1.10.33, this river has been identified with the modern Kurrattee by Weber and others. However, commentators on the *Amarakośa* take the *Karatoyā* and the *Sadānīrā* as two separate rivers. Prof. D. Kosambi's emendation of a single letter in Sāyaṇa's text of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.1.1, to read *vaṅgā-magadhāś-cerapādāḥ* would give excellent meaning to the passage on which Sāyaṇa's commentary on this and *RV*. VII. 101.4 is quite absurd. The sense then would be that *the people of eastern Bihar and nomads (or gypsies) did not believe in Vedic ritual.*

hills, and that is precisely what we find by looking through Buddhistic records of settlement. The riparian lands of the Gangetic basin must, with a few strategic exceptions, have been far too densely wooded and swampy to be cleared by fire alone. In any case, this type of early clearing would account for so many sacred places being in the Himālayas as well as for the late transfer of the capital of Magadha (Bihār) from Rājagṛha to Patna.

The Brāhmaṇas of this later period show a corresponding adjustment. The last of the four Vedas (*A V*) is a much more social document than the rest. From concentration upon the expensive fire-sacrifice, it has come down to everyday witchcraft, designed for personal gain of all social grades, though not to smooth out the difficulties of human intercourse. There are charms to cure disease and possession by demons of disease; prayers for long life; incantations for the obtaining of a husband or wife, a son; charms for royalty, and for success in battle. Far more important are the charms for harmony and influence in assembly for they show that Aryan tribal affairs were still regulated by assembly in spite of the conquest (*A V*. III. 30; VII. 12, etc.). Fields, the house, cattle, can be protected by formula; the seed is blessed at sowing (*A V*. VI. 142), exorcised of vermin infesting the grain (*A V*. VI. 50). There are prayers for success in gambling (*A V*. IV, 38; VII. 50), and the merchant has his own prayer for successful venture (*A V*. III. 15) with a hundredfold gain "of wealth through wealth".

Naturally, the Brāhmaṇa takes smaller fees, generally a porridge (*A V*. XI. 1; XII. 3) prepared in a special way. But that doesn't mean that he has given up beef-eating. Sterile cows must be given away to the Brāhmaṇas; if a heifer that has proved sterile after herding for three years be not given away to mendicant Brāhmaṇas, dire consequences will follow for both herd and owner; gain can only result by giving the creature to the Brāhmaṇas, though what they could do with it except eat it does not transpire; on no account is the owner to roast the barren cow for himself (*A V*. XII. 4)! Beyond this, the Brāhmaṇa has to protect himself and his own cattle by imprecations, and cajolery (*A V*. V. 18.3) "do not, o prince (eat the cow) of the Brāhmaṇa: sapless, unfit to be eaten, is that cow". Prince here means a knight, any member of the Kṣatriya caste with any sort of local power.

However, there is no question of the Brāhmaṇas turning "their attention to the masses", except to help in their exploitation. The Brahmaṇic idea of the position of the two lower castes is seen in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* vii, 29 (A. B. Keith, H.O.S., Vol. 25, p. 315): ". . . like a Vaiśya, tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at will . . . like a Śūdra, . . . the servant of another, to be removed at will, to be slain at will". This view of the trader class characterizes the almost penal theory of taxation which we find in the *Arthaśāstra*. The Kṣatriya here is at the top of the social stratification, for even the Brāhmaṇa is only one who receives sacrificial gifts from him; however, the Brāhmaṇa can embroil the Kṣatriya with the people by mischief at the sacrifice, so that the nobility have to be careful. Finally, we may note that the Vaiśya in the Vedas is merely an Aryan whose trade is not that of fighting or fire-priesthood; also, that honoured Vedic professions or crafts such as that of the tanner, weaver, smith, chariot-maker, are confined in later days to Śūdras, who are un-Aryan in the earliest days. This shows how the early caste system corresponded to the progressive development of a *class* society, which, with its counterpoise the absolute monarch, developed naturally from conquest and settlement by a democratic or oligarchic tribal organization which originally characterized the racially distinct invaders. A rudimentary four-caste (= class) system similar to the Indian can also be traced in Iranian tradition. It should not be forgotten, on the credit side of the caste system, that the early reduction of the *Śūdra* to serfdom or helotage freed India from slavery and slave-trading on a large scale. It also allowed new land to be opened up and settled with an early

development of a stable agrarian economy which gave the country its economic power as well as its basic unity in spite of great local variations. Of course, when expansion stopped, this led inevitably to a static ideal of society, a static philosophy (even to the static yogic system of exercise), hence ultimately to stagnation. But we are not concerned here with that stage of growth where caste becomes a negation of history. It seems reasonable to conclude that the lack of private property in human beings also implied the absence of private property in land (except for valuable urban sites) at the early stage with which we are concerned.

As long as the Kṣatriya is one of a numerous conquering tribe, this is perhaps inevitable; the Brāhmaṇa has no protection except his own usefulness as priest and the mantle of the witch-doctor. But with the growth of settlement and kingship on a larger scale, the Brāhmaṇa suffers another dialectic change: "Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parīkṣit! 'Parīkṣit has procured for us a secure dwelling, when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat'. (Thus) the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife. 'What may I bring thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor?' (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parīkṣit. Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parīkṣit" (*AV.* XX. 127.7–10).

This king Parīkṣit, here raised to the supreme eminence of deified fire is a historical personage who came to the throne after the great war described in the epic, *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.). And the Brahmins who monopolized the Atharva-veda belong to the combined Bhṛgu-Aṅgiras clans. They are comparative late comers in the vedic period for the Vasiṣṭhas alone claimed monopoly of the yajña priesthood at one time (Ṣadviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 1.5) and this was disputed by the Bhṛguid Jamadagni (Taittirīya Saṃhitā IV. 1.7.3). With this, we turn to the great Indian epic.

4. The Mahābhārata epic deals in 100,000 stanzas[1] with a great civil war between the five Pāṇḍava brothers and the hundred Kaurava sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Generally available texts of this work contain substantial additions down to quite recent times but we are fortunate in possessing a critical edition[2] for the first five books which strips away later accretions in a manner brilliantly confirmed by fresh discoveries of comparatively old manuscripts. This critical text represents in the main some kind of a unitary redaction by one or more diaskeuasts of not later than the 3rd century A.D., but the subject matter is far older tradition given in narratives not always properly worked into the structure of the epic. A good deal of this subject matter was obviously repulsive[3] to the scribes who transmitted the epic manuscript apparatus, but not on that account deleted by them; their method was to dilute the most disagreeable portions by explanatory interpolations, and just ignore the rest. The continued popularity of the text must have been due in great part to these continually added and readjusted subsidiary narratives, and this popularity was not only very profitable to the reciters but performed an important social function by enabling them to write in a considerable amount of social and religious doctrine, the most important section of this type being the famous *Bhagavadgītā*. For us the use of the Mahābhārata lies in the picture of society that it builds up, though not always in a homogeneous or consistent fashion.

[1] For the actual number, and criticism of the structure of the epic, see my paper on the *Parvasaṃgraha*, J. Am. Oriental Soc., vol. 66, 1946, pp. 110–117.

[2] By the late Vishnu S. Sukthankar. I cite only this edition, as Mbh. A passable translation exists (though not used here) by P. C. Roy, Calcutta, 1883–1896, but as this is based upon the Vulgate text (Calcutta, 1836), references will not coincide.

[3] E. W. Hopkins: *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901. This again refers to the uncritical Vulgate text, but is quite useful. For the point in question, see the concluding chapters.

About the preservation of ancient tradition,[1] against the fact of radically changed custom, there can be no doubt at all. After the great battle, the dead were left to lie on the field. The princess Mādrī is purchased as a bride for Pāṇḍu without any more ceremony than for a basket of vegetables (Mbh. 1.105.4-5), though a long passage is interpolated in many versions to explain this as an ancient custom of her tribe, the noble Madras. The Brāhmaṇa Droṇa teaches archery to the princes for money, and this is explained by a brilliant and pathetic interpolation (after Mbh. 1.122.31) as reaction after seeing his little boy, who had never tasted cow's milk, tricked by richer men's sons with mixture of flour and water. As a matter of fact, however, the desire for money is real and quite straightforward, for a little earlier Droṇa has learned the decidedly un-Brāhmaṇic trade of arms only because he could not get the alternative, wealth (Mbh. 1.121.18–21), from Paraśurāma. Even more striking is the evidence regarding diverse marriage customs, particularly for group-marriages in the older period. The sage Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, is disturbed in his wilderness retreat when a Brāhmaṇa drags off his mother by the hand with the words "let's go". To the angry sage, his unperturbed father gives the explanation "women of all castes are unrestrained (or *naked*); like cows, they (breed) progeny within each caste". Uddālaka's simile, we remark parenthetically, receives some support from the etymology of *gotra* (clan) which means "cowpen". Śvetaketu then establishes the rule by force (*balāt*) that women shall be monogamous and men shall not violate a virgin, a chaste woman, or a continent one. All of this is given as a tradition (Mbh. 1.113.9–20). But this is not the only curious tradition, for Mbh. 1.112 is devoted to the unattractive story of king Vyuṣitāśva whose childless queen Bhadrā finally conceives from his corpse. A survival of group marriage customs seem to me to be a better explanation of the five Pāṇḍava brothers' polyandrous union with the princess Draupadī than the hypothesis that these Pāṇḍavas were Tibetan invaders. In fact, Yudhiṣṭhira says to his shocked prospective father-in-law, who regards polyandry as being against common usage and the Vedas, that he (Yudhiṣṭhira) doesn't claim to know the finer points of religion, but "we wish to follow the ancient traditional path" (Mbh. 1.187.26–28). The mother of the princes cites the case of the seven sages who had a common wife Jaṭilā (Mbh. 1.188.14); finally Vyāsa, reputed author of the Mbh. turns up in person to explain the whole affair as inevitable by the convenient hypothesis of a curse in some previous birth! Clearly, we have here some historic pre-Aryan custom which had to be explained away. It is not a theological addition as for example the regaining of her virginity by Kuntī (Mbh. 1.104.12) or by Draupadī (Mbh. 1.191. 13-14) which were necessary if the later official marriages of these ladies were to be valid.

This welter of contradictory traditions, apart from diverting interest, has damaged even the main theme of the war. The Pāṇḍavas have no less a personage than Kṛṣṇa, incarnated Viṣṇu, on their side, and this god is thereafter one of the most important deities of the Hindu pantheon. But they win only by consistent cheating and legalitarian quibbles. The twelve years during which they agree to remain incognito in the wilderness are not really over when they reveal themselves; the noble and venerable Bhīṣma, their own teacher Droṇa are killed by deceit; the heroic and generous Karṇa (actually their brother) treacherously shot down against the rules of war; Duryodhana's thigh is shattered by a foul blow. Such dealings, combined with the tradition that Jaimini's rival version of the Mbh. (a fragment of which is still in existence) was destroyed because it did not exalt the Pāṇḍavas

[1] For the relationship between the Mbh. and the rewritten Purāṇas, cf. W. Ruben, *J. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1941, pp. 247–256; 337-338; *F. W. Thomas Festschrift*, pp. 188 sq. For the most reasonable attempt to reconstruct some historical truth from Purāṇic records: F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

sufficiently as against the defeated Kauravas, have led to the theory that the epic has been rewritten from its original form of a lament for the vanquished into flattery for the conquerors. As a matter of fact, evidence of rewriting is only too noticeable, but the purpose is deeper than mere flattery of some historical dynasty.

The Mahābhārata (like the *AV* and the law-code Manusmṛti) also was property of the Bhārgava clan, who rewrote [1] it for their own purpose. Their hero, the Bhārgava Paraśurāma, seems to have been the only authentic Bhārgava who could fight (his traditional weapon being the curved axe *paraśu*) and who annihilated the Kṣatriyas no less than twenty-one times. This superfluous killing is really a form of overcompensation, or psychological revenge: for it is clear that the Bhṛguids were generally trampled down, the Kṣatriyas not annihilated, and that a single annihilation should have sufficed. The revenge is carried further in unconvincing fashion by stating that successive generations of Kṣatriyas had to be begotten by Brāhmaṇas from Kṣatriya women. The fact of the matter is that the Brāhmaṇas were helpless: when Bhṛgu was offended by the Sṛñjaya Vaitahavyas or a Brāhmaṇa's cow taken, it was the slaughtered cow herself and not the owner that took revenge upon the transgressors (*AV*. V. 18.10-11; V. 19.1). The Bhṛgus appear as a historical people in the *RV*, but only three or four times. They are undoubtedly associated with the Druhyus, though whether as warriors or as priests is not clear for the Bhārgava chariot appears in *RV*. IV. 16.20. Moreover, they were on the losing side, for the king of the Druhyus was killed in battle against Sudās. We have here one possible mechanism by which the conquered sages could appear as priests [2] of the conquerors, for by this time the Aryans had unquestionably begun to fight against each other, having advanced as far east as the Jamunā river. Still, we see from the Paraśurāma legend that the Brāhmaṇas at one time attempted fighting against the Kṣatriyas, and this should lend support to the conjecture that the Brāhmaṇas belong to an older type of society than the invading Aryan Kṣatriyas. How could they have developed any sort of culture had they always been living in the wilderness, either solitary or each sage with his women and a handful of celibate disciples? It is at least plausible to assume that these Brāhmaṇas were associated with the rich pre-Aryan Indus valley culture, discovered by our archaeologists; a culture that may have been destroyed by Aryan invaders or died out because of the shift of the Indus. This passage-over of sections of the conquered as priests to the conquerors would account for the many discrepancies between Vedic and epic records, and for the rewriting of so much Indian tradition. It would account also for the early systematic development of Sanskrit grammar, generally necessary when a complicated foreign language has to be studied. In the same way, the astounding development of religious philosophy in India at a very early date again supports the hypothesis of violent assimilation as it speaks for the unhappy existence of a cultured priest-class. One notes that though the Aryan system of counting is decimal, if any

[1] V. S. Sukthankar: *Epic Studies VI*: The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata: *A Text-Historical Study*. *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Inst.*, XVIII, 1–76; Collected Works, Vol. I, 278–337.

[2] The special position of the Bhṛgus is due to a fact not brought out in Sukthankar's profound analysis of the Mbh., namely that they were able to assimilate Kṣatriya priests by adoption. Vītahavya becomes a Bhṛguid Brāhmaṇa by the word of Bhṛgu himself, according to Mbh., 15.30 (Vulgate) in spite of the Sṛñjaya Vaitahavyas being accursed in *AV* passages cited! The canonical Sanskrit writings on *gotra* and *pravara* have been collected by P. Chentsal Rao: *Gotrapravaranibandhakadamba*, Mysore (Govt. Or. Lib. Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, 25), 1900. The introduction shows that the last ten of the eighteen official Brāhmaṇa clans, i.e. the "occasional (*kevala*) Bhṛgus or Aṅgirasas" adopted Kṣatriyas extensively. The current interpretation is, naturally, that these were originally Brāhmaṇas who had followed the trade of arms for a while and so had to be readopted into the priesthood, but a look at the genealogies shows conclusively that they are Kṣatriya by lineage. This means, clearly, assimilation of the priest-caste of the conquerors into the Bhṛgu-Aṅgiras clan of the conquered.

system can properly be called Aryan, the quadragesimal system is still extant in Indian currency, goes back to the dual weight-system of Mohenjo-Daro, and is reflected in Piṅgala's work on Vedic metre. The Brāhmaṇa sages in the wilderness then correspond to Abraham, who left Ur of the Chaldees for a nomadic life when the days of the city's glory had passed; of course, the Brāhmaṇas may have been driven out by the ruin of their cities, and had in any case a fairly hard time of it: retreat to the wilderness, particularly in old age, remains thereafter an *integral* portion of the ideal human life for Hindus. Naturally, such origins would also account for several features of caste, including endogamy.

For the later stage of rewriting in the Mahābhārata, we see one further immediate reason: the pre-existence of Buddhism. In the main, all direct reference to Buddhism is carefully avoided in the epic, which does its best to give the (modified) traditions of antiquity. Still, in the appendix,[1] the *Harivaṁśa* (cited as Hv. from Kiṃjavadekar's edition), we find direct mention of the fact that well got-up Śūdra monks would get religious honour as followers of the Śākya Buddha (Hv. 3.3.15) while Brāhmaṇas took to the woods for fear of taxes. All such historical events of later date are ingeniously disguised as prophecies; this section of the Hv. has influenced two parallel "prophecies" in Mbh. 3. 186–189, about the dark ages, the Kaliyuga which begins with the coronation of just that king Parīkṣit who was so highly praised in the *AV*. Naturally, as part of the prophecy, it is not out of place to mention—indirectly—Puṣyamitra (Hv. 3.2.40) as having performed the horse sacrifice before the end of the Kali age. One is led to believe that the Kalki (later the future avenging incarnation of Viṣṇu) with whom the Kaliyuga is to end (Mbh. 3.188-189; Hv. 1.41. 164–168) is also a historical personage, some minor leader who locally repelled invaders that pushed into India over the ruins of empire after the 1st century B.C. He managed to please the Brāhmaṇas by reviving fire-sacrifices. What speaks most distinctly for the existence of some intermediate form between the Vedic and the epic period, however, is the rise of new deities, and the profession of a new philosophy. The epic is read by or recited to modern Hindus, and in spite of its numerous logical inconsistencies, is within their mental grasp; the Vedas are not.

Vedic deities, Indra and the sacred fire, occur often enough, but in a subordinate position. Some of the elements that appear can be discounted as ancient survivals, particularly the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu which contain a typical later Brāhmaṇic synthesis of various cults—of which the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, may even be Mesopotamian, connected as they are with the legend of the flood which actually was a historical event according to Woolley's excavations at Ur. The dwarf Vāmana may represent some struggle of the Aryans against Assyrians, as perhaps his predecessor the man-lion Nṛsiṃha. Paraśurāma is a Bhārgava hero, Rāma some ancient Indian hero apparently pre-Aryan, though with him the psychological element may account for the Helen-of-Troy motif. Psychoanalysts have taught us to regard such themes as Karṇa's being set afloat on the river by his mother and drawn from the waters

[1] Though it ranks as the appendix, actually this section of the Hv. at least is the prototype of the two prophecies in Mbh., 186–189. A detailed comparison shows content as well as phrases in common, as for example between Hv. 3.3.12 and Mbh. 3.188.51 = 3.186.36; generally between Hv. 4.3-4 and Mbh. 3.186, 188. The Hv. account is shorter and more coherent, as well as more *reasonable*. For example, Mbh. 3.188.47-8 paralleled by Mbh. 3.186.52-53 says in describing the evils of the dark ages that girls would give birth to children at the fifth or sixth year, males would beget them at seven or eight, and that the limit of life would be sixteen years. The last two figures are 16 and 30 in Hv. 3.3.11 and 3.4.40. The general Paurāṇic list of evils of the Kali age is entirely different. The relationship between these sources and the Purāṇas is very complicated; one possible explanation would be that various local accounts were later arranged in uniform chronological sequence. Taxing Brahmins is naturally the supreme evil (Manusmṛti 7.133), no matter how desperate the need!

by his foster-parents as a symbolic representation of birth [1]; this may also account for the sage Mārkaṇḍeya's vision (prototype of Arjuna's vision in the *Bhagavad-gītā*) of the divine Babe asleep on the flood (Mbh. 3.186.82–3.187.47). But the latest *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa is the dominating religious figure of the Mahābhārata, and his cult, all-embracing faith *bhakti* in the one supreme being, has appeared for the first time in contrast to anything that has preceded. This Kṛṣṇa, the non-Aryan [2] "dark" hero or god has appeared in several earlier legends, as Kṛṣṇa-Dionysos, Kṛṣṇa-Herakles, Kṛṣṇa the Lar of the Yādava tribe, even as an opponent of Indra in a contested passage of the Ṛgveda (*RV.* VIII. 96.13–15), but not in the rôle of an object for salvation-giving *bhakti*. *Kṛṣṇa* generally appears as an adjective for the "dark people", the indigenous opponents slaughtered by the Aryans. It is remarkable that Vṛtra, the demon of darkness for whose killing Indra is praised in the Veda (and as Verethraghna in Avestan tradition) counts as a Brāhmaṇa in Mahābhārata times. That Indra kills his own fire-priest (purohita) Viśvarūpa is surely proof that the Brāhmaṇas are not inviolate in vedic days. But the heroes of the epic, the Pāṇḍava brothers, are already a mixed lot, Arjuna being dark, as is also their common wife Draupadī.

Similarly, the all-powerful position of certain Bhārgava sages who even seem to beget a considerable number of Kṣatriya princes can be explained psychologically, but not so the strange doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, non-killing, uttered by a curse-transformed sage. "*Ahiṃsā* is the supreme religion for all living beings, therefore let the Brāhmaṇa not kill living things: ahiṃsa, truthful speech, resolute forgiveness, mastery of the Vedas are the highest religion of the Brāhmaṇas" (Mbh. 1.11.12, 14). This has a very strange sound indeed in a huge work dedicated to tales of slaughter, recited at Nāga-killing *yajña* sacrifices, a work in which the heroes and even the god Kṛṣṇa himself, with attendant Brāhmaṇas in plenty, clear land in the Vedic manner by burning down the entire Khāṇḍava forest and killing those who try to escape, in a holocaust which only six living creatures survive (Mbh. 1.214–219). The explanation of these anomalies is, naturally, the intermediate position of a totally new form of life, that during the Buddhistic age, which necessarily forced changes upon the Brāhmaṇas.

5. Vedic Brāhmaṇism had already become uneconomic in the days of the Buddha. Instead of the moderate fees of Vedic times, we find whole villages given over to the Brāhmaṇas in fief for their services at the sacrifice, though of course it was only the more fortunate Brāhmaṇa that would receive such gifts. In the *Dīgha-nikāya* 3, 4, 5, 12 we learn that king Pasenadi had given the village of Ukkaṭṭhā to the Brāhmaṇa Pokkharasāti, Mālavaṭikā to another, Lohicca; from Bimbisāra, special friend of the Buddha, the Brāhmaṇas Soṇadaṇḍa and Kūṭadanta held Campā and Khāṇumata respectively. Naturally, the sacrifices implied by such fees are on a much greater scale than those of the Vedas. In the *Kosalasaṃyutta* we read of king Pasenadi's great *yajña* where 500 (in early Pāli literature the equivalent of "a large number") each of bulls, male calves, female calves, goats, rams were tied to sacrificial posts for killing, and the king's slaves, messengers, workmen go about

[1] Otto Rank: *Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden*, Versuch einer psychologischen Mythendeutung [2nd Edition, Wien, 1922]. Matter for the psychoanalyst are also the excessive ritual purification of the Brāhmaṇa, the purely theoretical classification of metres many of which seem never to have existed, the fantastically large number of years in some *yuga* systems, the minute divisions of space and time which seem well beyond the power of definition of any instruments these theorists could even have imagined.

[2] Apart from their dark colour, tradition also removes both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna from the Kṣatriya caste, though they are fighters, cf. Pāṇini 4.3.88-9. Of course, the commentator here tries to explain this away by saying that being a divinity, Kṛṣṇa could not be ranked as a Kṣatriya.

their duties shedding tears,[1] in fear of punishment; for, apparently, the beasts were taken without compensation from the surrounding countryside. The Buddha himself speaks of five great traditional yajñas; the aśvamedha, the human sacrifice, the *samyakpāśa*, the *vājapeya*, and the *nirargala*. Of these the first two are Vedic and even the fourth is known to Vedic literature, though more complicated. But the remaining two are not generally known and there is no reason to doubt that sacrifices were growing in complexity and magnitude. The Buddhist protest is therefore against sacrifices rather than against caste [2] as such, though naturally it would affect the caste that lived by sacrificial fees, the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, these sacrifices imply other types of killing than at the fire-altar, for their main purpose is success in war. The older type of society has passed. Aryans are no longer migrants or wanderers with the possible exception of a tribe like the Vajjis,[3] who also preserve the older tribal institutions including supreme power for the oligarchic assembly (upon which the Buddhist monastic order of peripatetic almsmen was modelled in its own way), and are much admired by the Buddha himself. For the rest, the tribes have dissolved into loose organizations of landholding and land-farming overlords, and because of this dissolution, newer types of kingship on a larger scale are growing up. For example, Buddha's own people the Sakkas are not independent, being subordinate to king Pasenadi of Kosala (*Dīgha-nikāya* 27); while Buddha's father is so small a princeling that he engages in ploughing, perhaps of a ceremonial nature, but in the fields and not for the fire-altar. The Sakkas still elect [4] a tribal chief who seems to have had very little to do. The *gotra* divisions for Kṣatriyas clearly corresponded to the *gens* elsewhere, and was adopted (and retained to this day) by the Brāhmaṇas if they did not have it themselves in earlier times. It is significant that a considerable number of *gotra* names are animal totems[5]: *kauśika* = owl, *kāśyapa* = tortoise, *bharadvāja* = skylark, *gotama* = best bull, while the oldest Brāhmaṇas like the Vasus can at most be assigned descent from the sun and the Bhṛgus have no animal totem to explain their ancestor. Similarly, the *pravara* is clearly the original phratry, its confused position being more easily explained if the whole gens-phratry organization was borrowed by the Brāhmaṇas from the Kṣatriyas after the conquest.

The Buddhistic world is divided into small cities grouped under sixteen kingdoms (Aṃguttara-nikāya III, 7.70; trans. I, p. 192), some of which have already lost their independence and the rest of which are constantly fighting to increase

[1] Also, *Majjhimanikāya*, 51.

[2] Against Brāhmaṇic caste-superiority pretensions, cf. the *Vāseṭṭhasutta* which occurs both in the *Suttanipāta* and the *Majjhimanikāya*. For all Buddhistic references I have drawn extensively upon the Marāthi writings of my father Prof. Dharmānanda Kosambī; particularly, *Bhagavān Buddha* (Nāgpur, 1940-41) and *Bauddha Saṃghācā Paricaya*.

[3] For the Vajjis or Licchavis, the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. Under *vrātya*, Macdonnell and Keith (note 9) show that wandering non-ritual Aryans were meant, and this seems to be equivalent to the Vajjis, though naturally the Brāhmaṇic connotation of *vrātya* later comes to be a low person, while the Licchavis remain Kṣatriyas very high in social rank, even to a thousand years later, cf. *Oxford Hist. Ind.*, 147-8, and Samudragupta's inscriptions in Fleet's collection. See also J. W. Hauer: *Der Vrātya: Untersuchungen über die nichtbrahmanische Religion Altindiens*; Vol. I: *die vrātya als nichtbrahmanische Kultgenossenschaften arischer Herkunft* (Stuttgart, 1927). It may be noted in this connection that the noblest truths, aims, ways are indicated by the adjective *ārya* in Buddhist scriptures. *The new religion founded by the Buddha looked to that branch of the Aryan tradition which* (in spite of *AV*, XV) *was not penetrated by the Brāhmaṇas.*

[4] For the non-hereditary Sakka chief (king), see the story of Bhaddiya in the *Cullavagga* (vii) of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Tr. H. Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1885, Vol. XX, pp. 227–230); for Suddhodana and all his "courtiers" setting their own hands to the plough, the introduction (*Nidāna*) to the *Jātaka* stories (C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, H.O.S., Vol. 3, 1922, p. 54).

[5] Remnants of totemism or an attempt to assimilate totems of invaders to pre-existing gods may perhaps be seen in the animal *vāhanas* of Hindu gods.

their rules, whence the need for fire-sacrifices that bring victory. The centre of expansion is Magadha (the eastern part of modern Bihār) itself peripheral in the older Aryan-Brāhmanic expansion. It is Ajātasattu, parricide son of Bimbisāra who finally breaks the Vajjis and extends his dominion to the whole Gangetic basin; in the *Sāmaññaphalasaṃyutta*, he is praised as a wise ruler, one who would have reached the highest degree of spiritual attainment—but for the sad fact of his having murdered his own father! Clearly, the traders and householders needed a settled rule, peace and freedom from robbers who infested the jungles between city-states, some form of "universal" monarchy; it must again be noted that Buddhism and the other non-killing religion Jainism are most popular with this class, which is otherwise silent in Indian history.

The existence of the protest we have already seen in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage against beef-eating, though beef continued to be sold in the open market in Buddha's time (*Satipaṭṭhānasutta*). The original proponent of the new ideas for society was the Jaina *tīrthaṃkara* Pārśva, who laid emphasis two centuries before the Buddha upon the active social practice of non-killing, truthfulness, non-violence. There were other lines of teachers[1] who had developed from the ascetic hermits whom Brāhmaṇism itself regarded so highly; and Buddhist as well as Jain teachers found the pre-existing ascetic form of life one which gave the preacher greatest influence. Jain *ahiṃsā* was carried to unpractical extremes for society as a whole, while the Buddhist applied primarily to human beings and agricultural animals: for the Buddha says in the *Brāhmaṇadhammika-sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* "Cattle are our friends just as parents and other relatives; for, cultivation depends upon them. They give food, strength, freshness of complexion, and happiness. Knowing this, ancient Brāhmaṇas did not kill cattle." But the greatest power of the Buddhist doctrine springs from its social nature as against the rugged individualism or greedy opportunism of other systems. In the *Kūṭadantasutta* (*Dīghanikāya* 5) the Buddha relates the story of a supposed king Mahāvijita who gained happiness and prosperity for his people not by *yajña* but by supplying capital to the trader, employment to the State servant, seed to the farmer for "then the robberies will vanish". In the *Cakkavattisīhanada-sutta* we find the same theme enlarged upon: it is the poor that take to robbery, and the function of the *cakravartin*, the universal monarch, is to prevent robbery; it cannot be suppressed by violence, nor can its cause, poverty, be bribed out of existence with bounties. Poverty is to be decreased by creating employment. This, surely, is a sound and remarkably modern view of the problem. While the Buddhist emperor Asoka did not go so far as this, his very first edict sets the example of non-killing.

To the question of *why* the new form had to arise, we have answered that the older was uneconomic after the change from nomadic pasturing to settled agriculture. Why it had to take on a religious aspect is clear enough, for the older form was bound up with the very existence of a class that lived by sacrifice; hence, the validity of the sacrificial idea, of killing itself, had to be denied; the revolution, inevitably in primitive times, had to take on a religious aspect. The actual mechanism of the change is by preaching through the mouths of respected ascetic teachers. But there is something more to the change than this. In the first place, it occurs in marginal lands, where the Vedic forms are not well-established and where the tendency to universal monarchy is growing rapidly. The Brāhmaṇas themselves show strong divergence from Vedic practices, for Magadhan Brāhmaṇas are referred to with special contempt as *Brahmabandhu*, being definitely associated with extra-vedic *Vrātyas*, while it is not generally noticed that the Purāṇas refer to kings of the

[1] For accounts of six other sects contemporary with the Buddha, cf. the *Cūlasāropama-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*; also the *Sāmaññaphalasaṃyutta;* the 63 sects of the *Brahma-jālasutta* represent a much later account.

line to which Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu belong as *kṣatrabandhu*,[1] the termination *bandhu* having the force of the Italian—*accio*. Brāhmaṇas are themselves penetrating into hitherto unknown regions as pioneers, which is seen from the story of Buddha's disciple Bāvarī, who had founded a Brahmaṇic refuge on the banks of the Godavari; but this expansion takes place without a corresponding Kṣatriya conquest, which should account for the existence of only two major castes (Brāhmaṇa, Śūdra) in South India. Clearly, such civilization as existed had managed to develop expansionist tendencies in a larger population in a way that the cattle-breeding Vedic period could not do. Magadhan is synonymous with trader in Manusmṛti 10.47.

The cow does not thrive in wet lands, though it could have done well enough in the Indus valley. The cow is not hardy enough to hold out against wild beasts in the forest. The swampy lower territory of the Gangetic basin could only have been opened out for a new type of agriculture, wet-rice cultivation, by a new animal, the less edible water-buffalo. I suggest that the period of this change also corresponds to change from the older Brāhmaṇism to non-violent religions, though such changes have left virtually no trace in literature. Vedic rice is *vrīhi*, while the general Vedic term for cereal is *yava*, barley, and the Vedas speak also of *godhūma*, wheat. The famous *śāli* variety of rice, though known early in the Punjab (where the grammarian Pāṇini comes from the village of Śalātura) seems to be principally cultivated in Bihār, even as late as the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang. The buffalo is not a Vedic animal at all, and must have been a terrifying beast in earlier times for Yama, the god of death, comes riding on it to claim the souls of human beings at their final moments; Yama himself, with his twin sister Yami, shows definite Mesopotamian affinities or possibly origin.[2] The goddess Kāli or Durgā, afterwards synthesized by Brāhmaṇas with Pārvati, consort of Śiva, saves mankind by killing the buffalo-demon, an act still commemorated by buffalo-sacrifices at her festival. The buffalo is rare while the horse does not occur on Mohenjo-Daro seals, where the bull is common. *Mahiṣa* in the Vedas is an adjective, meaning powerful, and *mahiṣī mṛgaḥ* means just the "powerful beast". But by the time of Pāṇini *mahiṣmat* "rich in buffalos" is a term of respect. The *Kāśyapa saṃhitā* represents a forlorn Brāhmaṇic attempt to preserve the superiority of the cow, in that the buffalo is a wilder creature, feeding in the woods on leaves that might bear insects and spoil its milk. But it is known to all modern observers that in reality the buffalo is far the cleaner feeder of the two, the cow (like the pig) being a scavenger in densely settled localities. By the opening centuries of the Christian era, the buffalo is bred regularly for profit, ranking in this above the cow and below the horse, according to the *Pañcatantra* (V. 8). It is the change-over to this new productive method that would enable Brāhmaṇic control of ritual to be overcome in times when ritual was all-important, for the Brāhmaṇas hadn't then troubled to develop any ceremony connected with the buffalo in the same way as the Vedic ritual is related to the cow.

Thus we get the dark ages of the Brāhmaṇas, though a few of them gained wealth as ministers, while four even ruled as kings[3] after the end of the Śuṅga

[1] F. E. Pargiter: *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 22, v. 16, Pargiter himself is puzzled by *rājānaḥ kṣatrabandhavaḥ* which he mistranslates on p. 69 as "kings with kṣatriya kinsfolk".

[2] Yama and the three flood-avatāras are not the only such Indo-Mesopotamian affinities from literary sources. For example, *timiṅgila* and *timiṅgilagila*, where the reduplicated ending must originally have been *-gala*. The earliest Asuras are, of course, to be understood as Assyrians. The Jātakas mention sailing to Babylon (Bāveru); on the other hand, the Purāṇas show an acquaintance with the sources of the Nile which surprised even their discoverer, Speke, but these documents were rewritten at a period much later than the one under discussion.

[3] Cāṇakya is the most famous of Brāhmaṇa ministers. For the Kāṇvāyana kings, Pargiter, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33–35, 71.

dynasty; but a disastrous period for most of them, by reason of the decay of fire-sacrifices. It would be centuries before Buddhism in its turn became uneconomic by growth of rich monasteries, and useless to the masses by its isolation. In that interval, the Brāhmaṇa had learned to adjust himself to reality without facing it. New deities had been found, and many local deities synthesized by the *avatāra* theory or as synonyms for one of the major gods. The power of the synthetic method is shown by Buddha himself being counted as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. On the other hand, Buddhist monasteries were already becoming huge uneconomic foundations. The increasing number of Brāhmaṇa converts led by the second century to a change from the peoples' languages to Sanskrit for Buddhist writings; the writings themselves deal with abstract philosophical speculations which show that the monk had developed from the peripatetic almsman visualized by Buddha as a teacher of society into a parasite whose existence was bound up with that of the exploiting classes. Control of ritual always vested in the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhist never having disputed it nor the cults of deities[1] (of whom the Buddha is *not* one though vedic gods are made to do him honour in Buddhist legends); caste, after all, we have seen to correspond to social classes, when viewed as a whole. New tribes could be enrolled by writing new scriptures, rewriting old ones, or treating them as new castes, explained at first as generated by various mixtures of the older four. On the other hand, what resistance there was to invaders after the ruin of the Śuṅga empire, particularly in the 1st century B.C. seems to have been supported by fire-sacrifices if not inspired by the Brāhmaṇas in the name of religion, while there is no possibility, or at least no records of Buddhist monks having done so. The Brāhmaṇa had personal property and a family. He had the ritual for success in battle. He also had some experience of, or at least contact with, administrative problems, as we see from the *Arthaśāstra* which is Brāhmaṇic with a tradition of preceding Brāhmaṇic works on statecraft; in fact, the commonest Sanskrit word for minister, *mantrin*, means the possessor of a magic formula, which implies a Brāhmaṇa. The Buddhist monastic order excluded by its very structure all such activities. We have a letter of the Buddhist monk Mātṛceṭa to a king asking him to spare animal life (F. W. Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 347–349; 1904, p. 21; 1905, p. 145), but there is no question of organizing any resistance. The synthetic method was of great use in absorbing all victorious foreigners except those who, like the Mohammedans, had a strong proselyting religion of their own and could recruit low castes. In fact, many foreigners in later times seem to have used conversion to Jainism or Buddhism as an intermediate (though not indispensable) step towards enrolment a generation or two later as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas, their social position permitting.[2] The Brāhmaṇa could ignore productive imports or utilize them: paper (like gunpowder) came from China with the Mohammedans, and was used by the Brāhmaṇas for writing, though manufactured usually by Muslims in India. The Mohammedans brought other Chinese influences which do not seem to have spread, as for example porcelain tiles, the unquestionably Sinoidal minarets of the Bolī Gumbaz at Bijāpur, and possibly, some dome forms. But the rose that they introduced into the country was and is used even by the most orthodox Brāhmaṇa in worship (syphilis and tea belong to the European period).

The main Brāhmaṇical readjustment was the doctrine of non-killing engrafted upon the older ritual. The dying out of fire-sacrifice, loss of the heady Soma drink and of beef-eating, did not matter as long as the basic economic unit of the country

[1] The seventh century emperor Harṣa was Buddhist enough to pardon one who attempted to assassinate him, and his drama *Nāgānanda* is Buddhistic; but he and members of his family also followed the cult of the goddess Gaurī.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, XL, 1911, 7–37. The passing-over even to a higher caste is sanctioned by Manusmṛti 10.64-65.

was the village, and means of production agrarian with primitive methods of peasant cultivation, without private or at least without capitalistic ownership in land. Ritual is preserved hereafter with such changes as were thrust upon it by force of circumstances, but for every innovation we find a claim of antiquity, usually fictitious. Even the *Allopaniṣad* and the *Āṅglapurāṇa* become possible. The reason is that no matter what the form of the ritual, its content and social function is now of a fundamentally different nature. Primitive magic tried to control nature and increase production while later observances and tabus are primarily for the maintenance of the *status quo* in favour of a definite class. They do their best to stifle criticism, to absorb any destructive excess of social energy. When this stage is reached, we have the static ideal of caste. History loses its meaning.

CHICHOLĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

By S. N. Chakravarti

There is no definite information as to when, how and where these plates were originally found. They were sent to the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India for decipherment by one Bhagvan Shiva Ganar, formerly of Wadgaon in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces, now of Chicholī in the Hinganghāt tāluka of the Wardhā District. The plates had been in the possession of the owner's family for some generations and probably discovered at the village of *Chicholī* in the District of Wardhā.[1] I edit the inscription which is engraved on them for the first time.

These are *four* well preserved *copperplates*, the second and third of which are engraved on both sides, while the first and fourth are inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains seven lines of writing, the whole inscription thus running into 42 lines. The engraving, in general, is good, though here and there the forms of the letters are not complete and their interiors show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The letters are deeply engraved throughout. The second plate is fairly thick. But the remaining plates are rather thin, and show through on the reverse sides. This is specially noticeable on the fourth plate. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation throughout. But while the second and third plates have their edges fashioned thicker, the first and fourth plates are quite smooth. Each plate measures about 6½" by 3½". About 1¼" distant from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole about ⅜" in diameter, obviously for a ring with which the plates were strung together. But the ring together with the *seal* is now missing. The *weight* of the four plates is about 2½ lbs. The size of the letters varies from ¼" to ⅜". The *characters* belong to the "box-headed" variety of the Central Indian alphabet, and are similar to those of the other grants of *Pravarasēna* II so far published. They are more angular than the characters of the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithvisēna II,[2] the grandson of Pravarasēna II. The characters include forms of the *numerical symbols* for *4* and *100* in line 20.

As regards *palaeography*, some peculiarities may be noted. The medial *ā* usually consists of a curve attached to the upper right side of the consonant (as in *-vājapēya-*, l. 2, and *-māhēśvarasya*, l. 9). It is also indicated in a different way (as in *Hiraṇyānadi-*, l. 1). The medial *u* occurs in three different forms. The hook at the foot of the consonant turns upwards to the left (as in *Gautamīputrasya*, l. 8) and to the right (as in *-chatur-aśvamēdha-*, l. 2). The third form of the medial *u* consists of a hook, which is attached to the lower right side of the consonant and turns downwards (as in *kuyyamaḥ*, l. 36). The medial *ē*, *ō*, and *au* occur each in two forms. One form of the medial *ē* consists of a curve on the upper left side of the consonant (as in *-Pravarasēnasya*, l. 3). This form is more common than the other in which the curve is added to the lower left side of the consonant (as in *-aśvamēdha-* l. 2). The usual form of the medial *ō* consists of an *ā-mātrā* on the upper right side and an *ē-mātrā* on the upper left side of the consonant (as in *-shōḍaśy-* l. 1). The medial *ō* is also shown, though rarely, by an *ā-mātrā* on the upper right side and an *ē-mātrā* on the lower left side of the consonant (as in *-aptōryyam-ōkthya-* l. 1). The medial *au* shows the southern bipartite form (as in *-Gautamīputrasya*, l. 8), and also for the first time the tripartite western and northern form (as in

[1] There is another village of the same name in the Betul District of the Central Provinces.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 267ff. and plates.

-gunauh, l. 10, and *brāhmanaur-*, l. 35). The tripartite form has, besides the two curves on the head, a third curve on the lower left side of the consonant. The medial *ai* has one form only. It consists of two curves on the upper left side of the consonant (as in *-Mahābhairava-*, l. 4). The final *ṭ* and *m* occur in *samrāṭ*, l. 3, and *vasundharām*, l. 38 respectively. The letters *d* and *ḍ* as also *ch* and *v* are not clearly distinguished. The open rectangle of *d* is larger than that of *ḍ* and *ch* has a larger rectangle than *v*. Compare these in *shōḍaśy-*, l. 1, *daṇḍā-*, l. 11, *vachanā*, l. 17. The letter *dh* is of the square type (see in *-aśvamēdha-*, l. 2). But the subscript *dh* is roundish in shape, and hence difficult to distinguish from the subscript *ṭh* in which the circle is not complete (cf. *Yudhishṭhara-*, l. 12, and *vasundharām*, l. 38), as also from the medial *ṛi*(cf. *vṛittēḥ*, l. 12) and the subscript *r* (cf. *Radrasanasya*, l. 14). The dental *n* in the looped form occurs in -Pravarasēnasya, l. 3. A different kind of *n* is found in *-yajinaḥ*, l. 2. Lastly, the letters *j* and *l*, as usual, have no box-head.

The *language* is Sanskrit. The text is in prose, except for the two imprecatory verses in the *Anushṭubh* metre, here ascribed to Vyāsa, in ll. 38–41. As regards *orthography*, we may note the frequent non-observance of the rules of external *sandhi*; the use of short *i* for long *ī* throughout; the use of the medial *ṛi* for *ri* (as in *pautṛinoḥ*, l. 12) and *vice versa* (as in *Griddha*, l. 17); the use of *n* for *ṇ* almost throughout; the frequent doubling of consonants after *r*; the doubling of *k* before *r* (cf. *sadyaḥkkra*, l. 2); and the doubling of *th* and *dh* before *y* (cf. *-Bhāgiratthy-*, l. 6, and *sarvvāddhyiksha-*, l. 23).

The inscription is one of the *Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II*. It is *dated on the tenth lunar day* (of the bright fortnight) *of* (the month) *Jyēshṭha in the twenty-fifth year* (of the Mahārāja's reign). Its *object* is to record the grant, in the Supratishṭha *āhāra*, at the village of Vēluaka, of four hundred *bhūmi-nivarttanas* according to the royal measure, to one Rudrārya of the Vāji-Māhitya *gotra* and the two vedas, who was a resident of Kharārjunaka. The village of Vēluaka was situated to the east of the village of Gṛidhra, to the south of Kadamba-saraka, to the west of the village of Nīla, and to the north of Kōkilarāsya. The charter was issued from the place of encampment on the banks of the river Hiraṇyā.

The date of the inscription is given in regnal years. So it cannot be verified. Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji [1] assign the copperplates of Pravarasēna II to the fifth century A.D. Fleet,[2] however, identifies the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta, who is mentioned in l. 15 as the father of Prabhāvatiguptā, the mother of Pravarasēna II, with Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II,[3] the grandson of Dēvagupta. The Shāhpur stone image inscription,[4] which refers itself to the time of Ādityasēna, is dated the year 66. The era is not specified. But it is that of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606. Thus the year 66 gives A.D. 672-673, which is the date of Ādityasēna. Accordingly, Fleet assigns Pravarasēna II to the seventh century A.D. Kielhorn and Sukthankar follow Fleet. Kielhorn assigns Pravarasēna II [5] to about the beginning of the eighth century, and Pṛithivisēna II,[6] the grandson of Pravarasēna II, to about the second half of the eighth century. Sukthankar assigns Pṛithivisēna [I],[7] the grandfather of Pravarasēna II, to the seventh century. Bhandarkar [8] is for Bühler's date. According to him Dēvagupta was another name of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty who ruled G.E. 61–93 (A.D.

[1] Bühler, *Ind. Palaeo.* (English version), p. 64, n. 8.
[2] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, pp. 15-16.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 46.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 43.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 258ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 267ff.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 12ff.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 160-1.

380–412); for in the Poona[1] and Riddhapur[2] plates Prabhāvatiguptā is mentioned as the daughter of Chandragupta II. Pathak and Dikshit,' who follow Bühler and Bhandarkar, rightly point out that the characters of the Poona plates closely resemble those of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This is specially to be noticed in regard to the letters *m*, *l*, *sh* and *h*.[3] But they observe: "Indeed the difference between the characters used in the present (Poona) grant (of Prabhāvatiguptā) and those on the grants of Pravarsēna II strike us as in every way too great for the period of 25 or 30 years which must have intervened between these records". This means that on palaeographical grounds the grants of Pravarasēna II should be placed much later than the Poona grant. But it is not so; for, the characters of the Riddhapur grant of Prabhāvatiguptā are similar to those of the grants of Pravarasēna II. Evidently, two types of Brāhmī were used in Central India, of which the nail-headed type[4] with northern peculiarities is illustrated in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and the box-headed type with southern peculiarities, which was commonly employed, in her Riddhapur plates. Thus it is beyond doubt that the Vākāṭakas were contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas and not of the Later Guptas.[5]

The *localities* mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify. As we have already noticed, the charter was issued from the royal camp on the Hiraṇyānadī. The Dudia grant of Pravarasēna II mentions a *bhōga* named Hiraṇyapura. Evidently, Hiraṇyapura was the headquarters of the bhōga of the same name. It is not unlikely that Hiraṇyapura was so called from the river Hiraṇyā, which would then imply that *Hiraṇyānadī-vāsaka* of our inscription corresponds to Hiraṇyapura of the Dudia plates. This Hiraṇyānadī can be identified with the river Irai in the Chanda District.[6] The *Supratishṭha Āhāra* is also mentioned in the Poona grant of Prabhāvatiguptā. The village bearing the Prakrit name *Vēluaka* is probably the same as the village *Vilavaṇaka* which, as we know from the Poona grant, was also in the Supratishṭha Āhāra.

TEXT[7]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[8] drishṭaṁ [|| *] *Hiraṇyā(ṇyā)nadi(dī)-vāsakād*=agnishṭōm—a(ā)ptōryy[ā *]m—ōkthya-shōḍaśya-āti-

2 rātra—vājapēya[9]—brihaspatisava[10]—sadyaḥkkra[11]—[cha*]turaśvamēdha[12]—yājinaḥ[12]

3 vishṇ[u*]vriddha[13]—sagōtrasya samrāṭ[14] *Vākāṭakānāṁ* mahārāja—śri(śrī)—*Pravarasēna*—

4 *sya* sūnōḥ sūnōr=atyanta—Svāmi—Mahābhairava—bhaktasya a[ṁ]sa-bhā-

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39ff. [2] *J.P.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XX, pp. 58ff.

[3] On the letter-forms, see *J.R.A.S. Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1938, pp. 351–54.

[4] The nail-headed script has been also found in some Kadamba records of the Kanarese country (cf. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, plate between pages 34 and 35).

[5] Prof. Mirashi also has arrived at the same conclusion (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 18).

[6] Does this show that the plates were originally found at Wadgaon in the Chanda District ?

[7] From the original plates. [8] Expressed by a symbol.

[9] On the right top of *p* is a mark which looks like the *ā-mātrā*. Here and in other places below traces of the working of the engraver's tool are found.

[10] The engraver first very nearly formed *su* and then corrected it into the conjunct *sp*.

[11] Read—*sādyaskkra*—

[12] Read—*yājinō*. Here and in other places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[13] Read *vishṇuvṛiddha*—The subscript *ṇ* here is somewhat different from *n* which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.

[14] Read *samrājō*.

5 ra—sanniv[ē*]śita—Śiva-liṅg-ōdvahana—Śivasupar[i*]tushṭa—samutpādita—rā [1]

6 javaṁśānā[ṁ*] [2] parākkram-a(ā)dhigata—Bhāgi(gī)ratthy-amala-jalamu-(mū)rddhābhishiktānaṁ(nāṁ) daś-ā-

7 śvamēdh-ā[va*] bhṛitha-snātānāṁ *Bhāraśivānāṁ* mahārāja-śri(śrī)—*Bhavanāga*-dauhitrasya—

Second Plate; First Side

8 *Gautamiputrasya* [3] *Vāk[ā*]ṭakānā[ṁ*]* mahārāja- śri(śrī)—*Rudrasenasya* sūnōr=atya—

9 nta—māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava—kārunyō(ṇya) śauryya—vikkrama—naya-vinaya-m[ā*]hātmya-

10 dhimatya—pātragatabhaktiva [4]—dha[r*]mmavijayitva—manōnairmmaly-ādi-bhi-gunauḥ [5]

11 samup[ē*]tasya va[r*]sh-śatam [6]=abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-dandā[7]-sādhana-santā—

12 na—putra-pautrinōḥ [8] Yudhishṭh[i*]ra-vṛittēḥ *Vākāṭakānāṁ* mahārāja-śri(śrī)-*Pṛithivi*-

13 *sēnōsya* [9] sūnōr = bhagavataḥ Chakrap[ā*]nauḥ [10] prasād-ōparjjita—śri(śrī)-samuda-

14 yasya *V[ā*]kāṭakānāṁ* mahārāja-śri(śrī)-*R[u*]dras[e*]nasya* sūnōḥ mahārājā-[11]

Second Plate; Second Side

15 dhirājā(ja)—śri(śrī)—*Devagupta*-sutāyō [12] *Prabhāvatiguptāyām*=utpannasya Śā(Śa)mbhō[ḥ*]

16 prasāda-dhṛiti-kārttayugasya *Vākāṭakānām*=paramamāhai(hē)śvara—mahā—

17 rājaṁ(ja)—śri(śrī)—*Pravarasēnasya* vachanā[t*] ‖ [13] *Supratishṭh*-a(ā)hārē *Griddha* [14] - grāmasya

18 ‖ [15] pūrvvataḥ *Kadamba—sarakasya* dakshino(ṇa)taḥ *Nila*(Nīla)-grāmasya pa-

19 śchimēnaḥ [16] *Kōkilaraśya* [17] uttarataḥ *Vēluakan*=nāma-grāmaḥ [‖ *] Atr=asmā(āsma)[t*]

[1] There is a mark of the working of the engraver's tool to the left middle of *rā*.

[2] The letter *v* is not complete.

[3] Read *Gautamiputrasya putrasya* as in other Vākāṭaka records. The superscript *i* here is similar to that in *paribādhā* in l. 35, but somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription. One may be tempted to regard it as the superscript *ī*. But what makes it differ from the superscript *i* in other instances is really a mark of the working of the engraver's tool.

[4] Read—*dhimattva—pātrāgatabhaktitva—*

[5] Read—*ādi-guṇaiḥ*.

[6] What looks like the *ā-mātrā* in *t* really forms the bottom of the subscript *m* in *-dharmma-* in l. 10.

[7] Read—*daṇḍa—*

[8] Read—*pautriṇaḥ—*

[9] Read—*Pṛithivisēnasya*.

[10] Read *Chakrapāṇēḥ*.

[11] There is a vertical mark of the working of the engraver's tool in between *hā* and *rā*. Below *mahārājā-* occur four syllables (*ma*, *ra ?*, *ve* and *sa*), which are out of place here and carry no sense.

[12] Read—*sutāyāṁ*.

[13] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. It consists of two small vertical strokes, the second of which is much smaller than the first. The two strokes do not form the final *t*, the sign for which is very clear in the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II.

[14] Read *Gṛiddhra*—The form of *ddh* is similar to that of *ddh* in *vṛiddha-* in l. 3.

[15] This mark of punctuation, consisting of two small curves placed one above the other, is unnecessary.

[16] Read *paśchimataḥ*.

[17] Read *Kōkilarāsyasya*. What looks like an *ē-mātrā* in *r* is a mark of the working of the engraver's tool.

20 rāja-mānōnaḥ[1] bhūmau[2]=nivarttana-śatāni-chatvāri 100 4 viśatima[3] saṁ-

21 vatsarē vishuva-vāchanaka[4]—Vāji-Lāhityā—[5] sagōtrasya[6]

Third Plate; First Side

22 [*Kha*]*kārjunaka*[7]—v[ā*]stavyasya dv[i]vēda—Rudrā[r*]yyāya dattāni[|| *] Yatō=smat-santakāḥ

23 sarvvāddhyiksha[8]—niyōga[9]—niyuktāḥ ājñāsañchāra(ri)-kulaputr-ādhikṛitā bhajā(ṭā)ś=chh[ā*]—

24 tr[ā*]ś=cha viśruta—pūrvvay=ājñāpayitavyāḥ[10] [|| *] Viditam=astu vaḥ yath = ēh—āsmā—

25 bhir=ātmanō dharmm-āyū(āyu)r-bbala—vijay-i(ai)śvaryya-vivṛiddhayē ih=āmutra-

26 hit-ārttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vaijayikē dharmma-sthānē apūrvva-datyā[11] uda-

27 ka—pūrvvam=atisṛishṭaḥ [|| *] Ath=āsy=ōchitā[ṁ*] pūrvva-rāj-ānumatā[ṁ*] chātu[r*]vvaidy-ā—

28 grahāra[12]-maryy[ā*]dān(m)=vitarāmaḥ tad=yathā akaradāyi(yī) a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-

Third Plate; Second Side

29 prāvēśya[ḥ*] a-pāraṁpara—gō—balivarddaḥ[13] a—pushpa—kshi(kshī)ra—sandōhaḥ

30 a—chār-āsana—charmm—a(ā)ṅgaraḥ a-lavanō(ṇa)-klinna-kkrēṇō(ṇi)—khanakaḥ sa-nidhōḥ (dhiḥ)

31 s=ōpan[i*]dhiḥ sa-kḷipt—ōpakḷiptaḥ sarvva—vē(vi)shṭi—parihāra—parihṛitaḥ

32 [14] ā-chandr—āditya[15]—samakāli(lī)yaḥ putra—pautrānugami(mī) bhujyamā—

33 naḥ na kēnachid=ddhyā(vyā)ghātayitavyaḥ[16] sarvvakkriyābhis=sa[ṁ]-rakshitavyaḥ

34 parivarddhay[i*]tavyāś(tavyaś)=cha [|| *] Ya[ś=ch=ā*][17]smā(sma)ch—chhāsanam=a—ranō (gaṇa)—yamānaḥ svalpām=api

35 paribādhā[ṁ*] kuryyāt=kārayā(yi)t[ā*] vaḥ(vā) tasya brāhmaṇau(ṇai)r=vvēditasya sadaṇḍā (ṇḍa)—

[1] Read *rāja-mānēna*. The Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II read *rājamānika*.

[2] Read *bhūmayan=*

[3] Read *viṁśatitamē*. The expressions *viṁśatitamē saṁvatsarē* are out of place here, when we know that the grant was made in the twenty-fifth regnal year. In this document there occur in a few places expressions which are out of place and carry no sense. But it would not be correct to question the genuineness of the document. Probably the copy issued from the Secretariate was carelessly written. Besides, the engraver was careless.

[4] These seven syllables seem to have been engraved after erasing the original ones, and their sense is not clear.

[5] Read—*Māhitya*—

[6] Read—*sagōtrāya*.

[7] Read *Kharārjunaka* (or *Kharārjunara*)—*vāstavya*—*dvivēda*—

[8] Read *sarvvāddhyaksha*—

[9] There is a mark of the working of the engraver's tool over *ni*, which makes the letter look like *nai*.

[10] Read—*pūrvvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā* as in other Vākāṭaka records.

[11] Read—*dattyā*.

[12] What looks like an *ā-mātrā* in *gr* is a mark of the working of the engraver's tool.

[13] There is a mark of the working of the engraver's tool in between the two curves, which indicate the *visarga*.

[14] Before *ā-chandr-* there are three unnecessary curves, which are placed one above another.

[15] Read—*āditya*—

[16] Above *vyaḥ* there is a scratch, which looks like the *anusvāra*.

[17] The missing syllables are restored from other Vākāṭaka records.

Fourth Plate

36 nigraha[ṁ*] ku[r*]yy[ā*]mah(ma) [|| *] Asmi[ṁ*]ś=cha dharmm-ādi(ādhi)-karanō(ṇē)ati(tī)t-ānēka- [1] rāja-sañchi-
37 ntana-parip[ā*]lana[ṁ*] kṛita-puṇy(ṇy)-ānuki(kī)rttana—ki(kī)rttayāmaḥ [|| *] Vyāsa—gi(gī)tau ch=ātra
38 śrōkā [2] pram[ā*]ni(ṇi)karttavyau || [3] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dattā[ṁ*] vā [yō*] har(ē)dyōvai [4] vasundharām
39 gavām śata—sahasraya hantur-harati dushkritaḥ (tam) [|| *] Shashṭi(ṭhi)ṁ[5] varsha-saha-
40 srāni(ṇi) svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch=ānumant[ā*] cha t[ā*]ny =ēka(ēva) narakā(kē)
41 vasēd=iti || *Saṁvatsarē pañchaviṁśatima* [6] *Jyēshṭha—sukla* [7]*-dasamyāḥ(āṃ)*
42 sēn[ā*]patau Bāppadēvēna [8] likhitaṁ [9] Namastu || [10]

[1] Read—*rāja-dattā-sañchintana*—

[2] Read *ślōkau.*

[3] Metre, Ślōka (*Anushṭubh*); and in the following verse.

[4] Read *hareta.*

[5] The engraver left the first *sh* incomplete and placed the *anusvāra* for shṭhiṁ on *v* in *varsha*—

[6] Read *pañchaviṁśatitamē.*

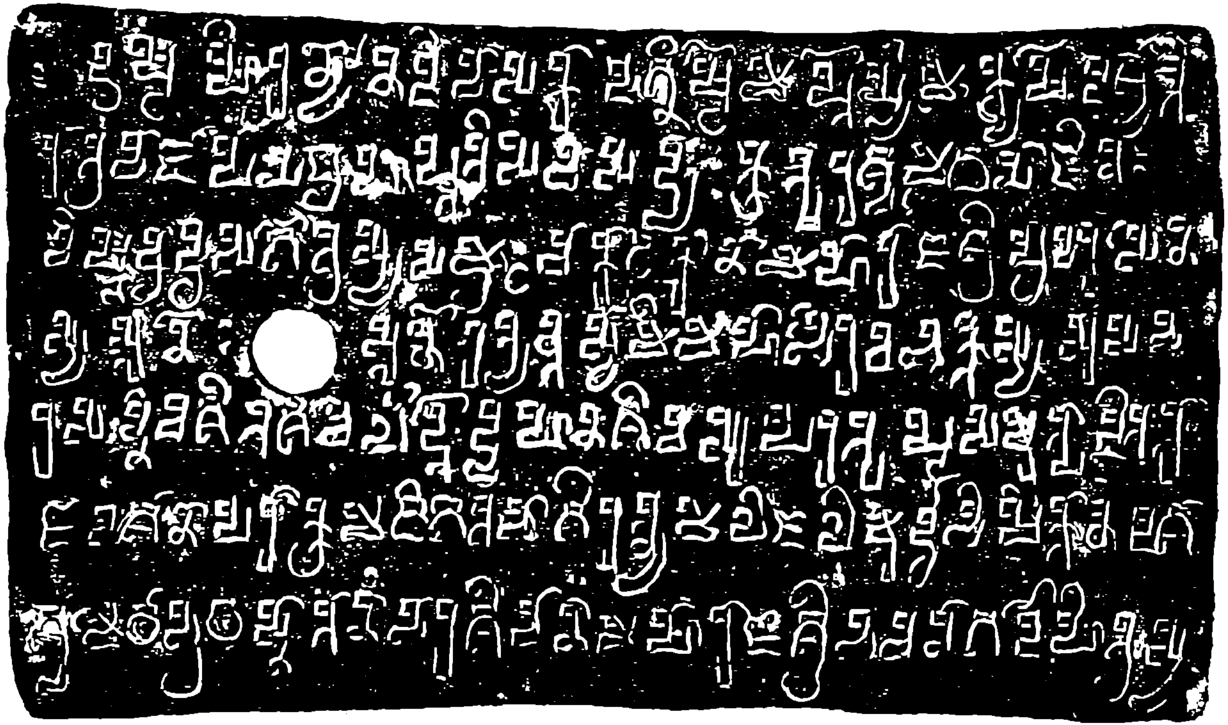
[7] Read—*śukla*—

[8] Read Bāppadēvē, in accordance with the Siwani copperplate inscription of Pravarasēna II which has *sēnāpatau Bāppadēvē likhitaṁ āchāryyēṇa.* Evidently, we take that our grant does not contain the name of the writer.

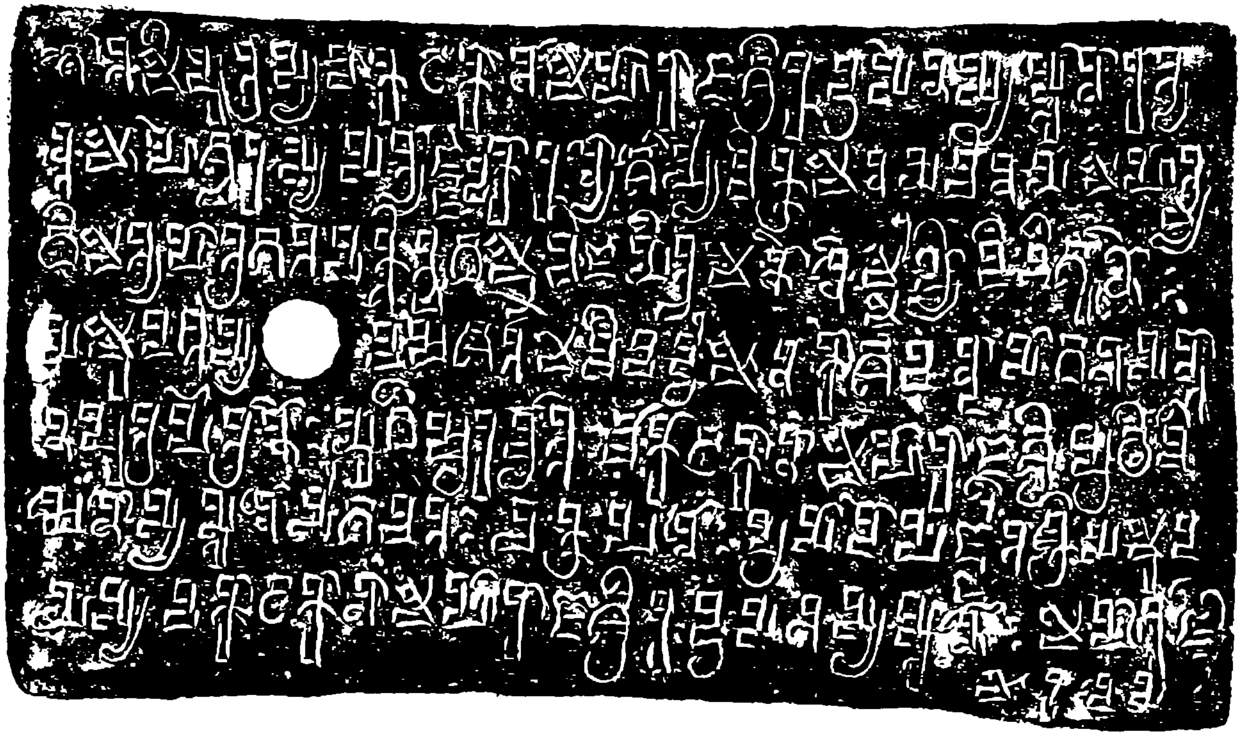
[9] After *likhitaṁ* an ornamental design is engraved.

[10] After the two stops occur three smaller stops with a long horizontal stroke below. A long horizontal stroke also marks the completion of the inscription on the Tirōḍi plates of Pravarasēna II.

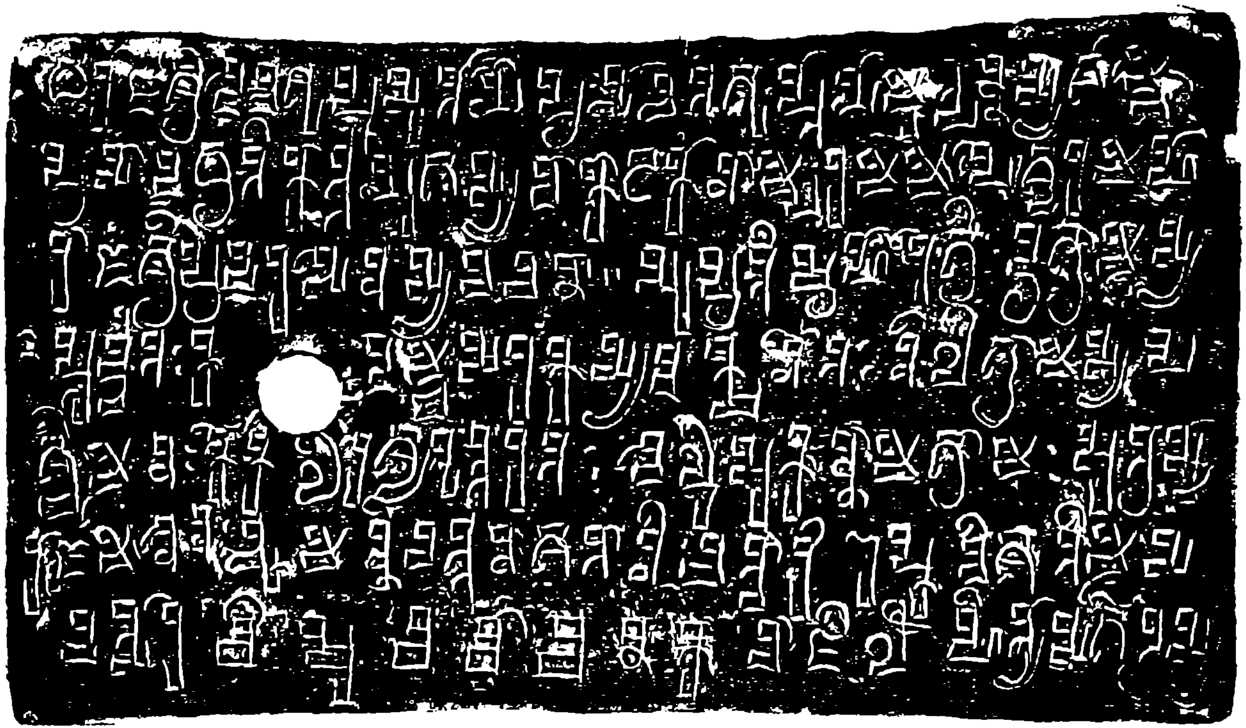
CHICHOLĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II



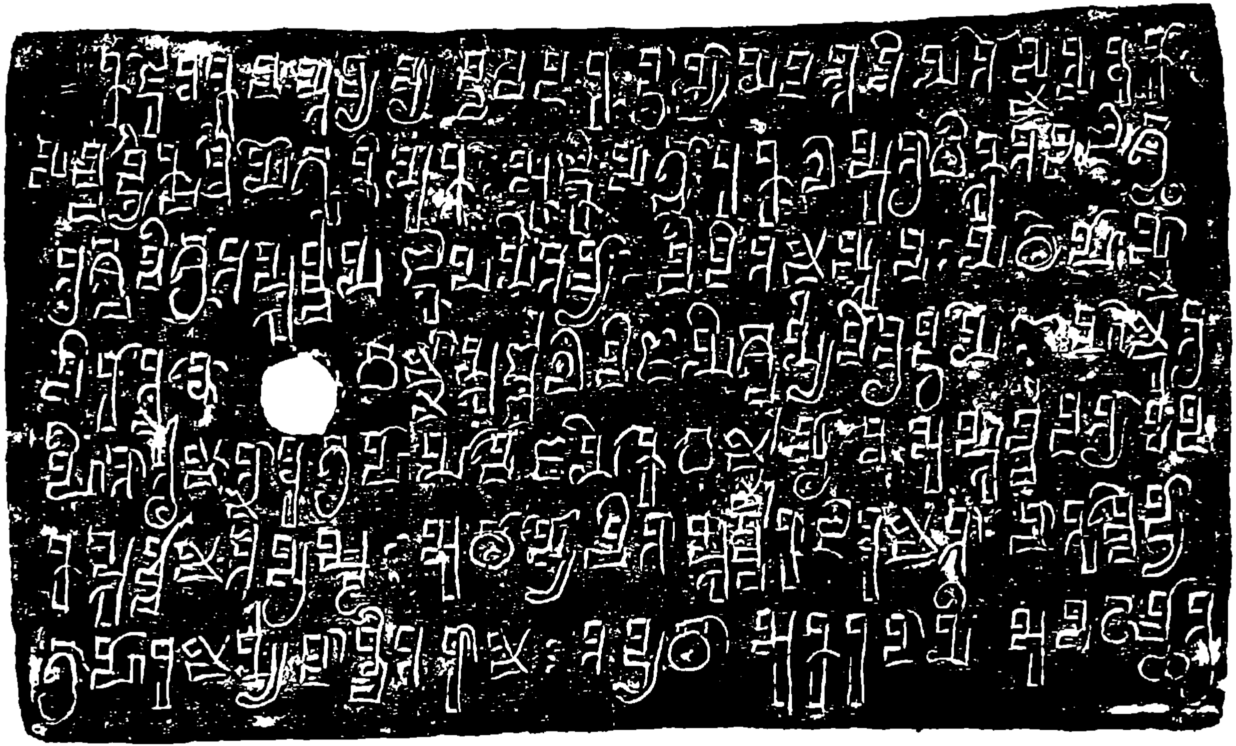
iia



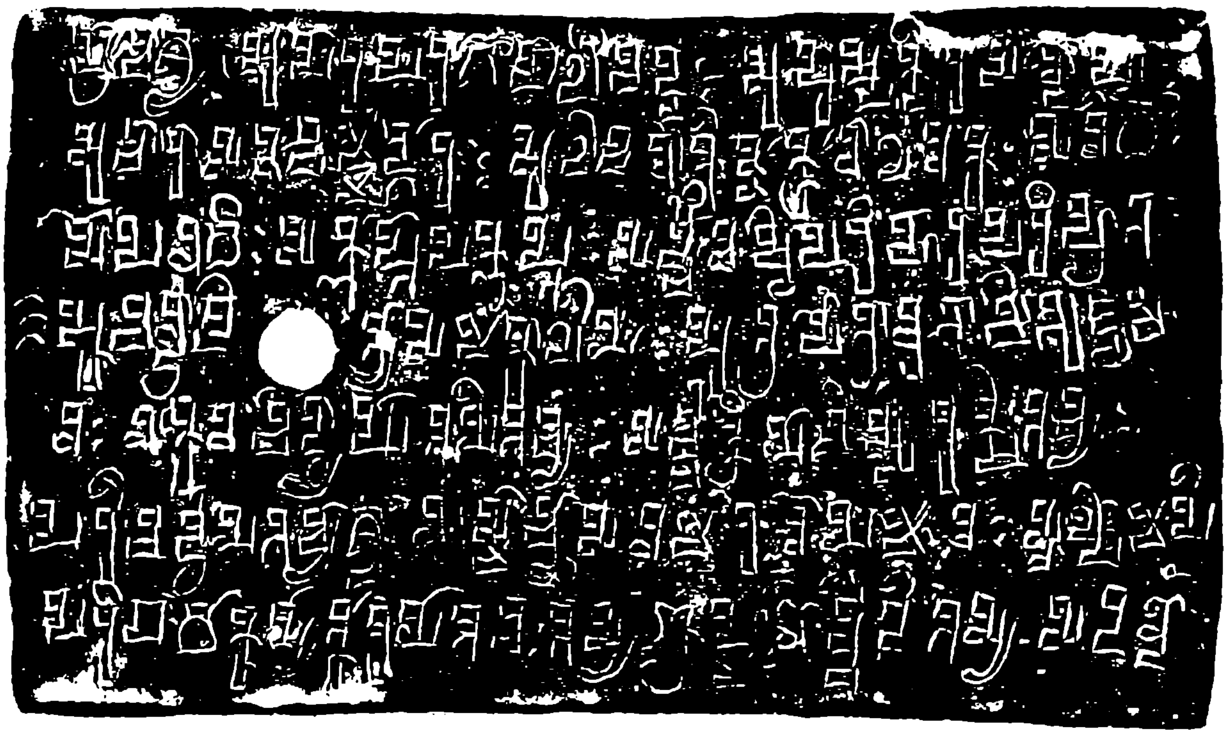
iib



iiia



iii*b*

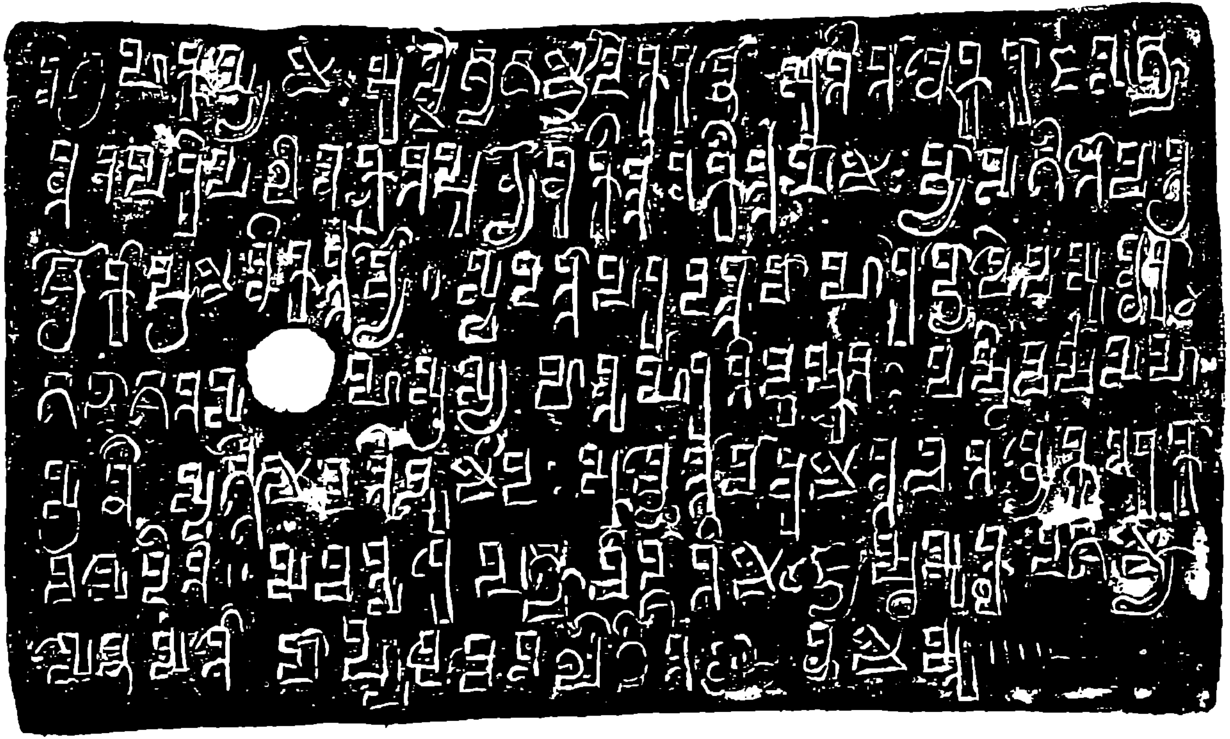


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iv



THE CHINESE ORIGIN OF THE ARABIC WORD TUFAN

By S. Mahdihassan

Hobson-Jobson, by Yule and Burnell, has an article on Typhoon, where the etymology of the Arabic word, Tufan, is also discussed. It may be said at the very outset that both the words, Tufan and Typhoon, have a common origin. Authorities are quoted to the effect that there is a Greek word, similar in sound to Tufan, meaning whirlwind, hence Tufan could be derived from the Greek; while to me it appears possible that the Greek word, itself, may be a Chinese derivative. Likewise, it is stated that as there is a semitic root, Tuf, meaning overflow; Prof. Robertson Smith concludes that, "Tufan, the deluge, is plainly borrowed from Aramic". As if these origins were not wide enough Yule and Burnell mention other possibilities, Chinese being included as a source of this word. As compilers they have been conscientious enough not to ignore any authority but, as judges, they have been unable to dispense with the mass of conflicting evidence they have so laboriously collected. In fact, so much has been already quoted by them that, all that is now required is to take a short cut through their labyrinth of information and point to one origin of the word Tufan.

There are at least two methods of finding the etymology of such a word. There is the usual historical method which compiles second hand information, sifting previous observations, all of which may not be correct, from records, all of which may not be at the disposal of the reviewer. According to this method inquiry begins with questions like, Where is the first mention of the word in the literature of a language? What are its synonyms in other languages and how do these words appear in a chronological order? There is yet another method of dealing with such an etymological problem which may be called a synthetic method. It is capable of achieving its objects independent of old records and of adding new information to knowledge already accumulated on the subject. Here the simple questions are asked, What does the word signify, not generically but specifically? Where does the word find its full significance? Imagine an Arab traveller landing on the west coast of India and recording a word spoken by local sailors who use the Konkani dialect. This word is found in Memoirs which subsequently have become classical and phylologists now wish to trace its etymology from written books. This dialect unfortunately boasts of no books while the entire Sanskrit literature can never help the inquirer. The historical method has its limitations which are hardly recognized. Those who believe in specialized reasoning cannot free themselves from citations while common sense opens new ways to achieve the same goal. In the above instance a record in an Arabic book of travels and its entire absence from the literature of Indian languages would lead to a huge confusion and only a synthetic method can throw any real light upon its etymology. A sort of paradox is created by the fact that a word of Indian origin is absent from Indian literature and mentioned as Indian only in a foreign book.

Yule and Burnell state that "The probability is that Vasco (de Gama) and his followers got the Tufão which our (English) sailors made into Touffon and then into Typhoon, as they got the monçao which our sailors made into monsoon, direct from Arab pilots" and they further, "observe that the Portuguese tufão distinctly represents tūfān and not t'ai-fung and the oldest English form tuffon does the same". It is clear that the Arabic Tufan, gave rise to a Portuguese modification which became tuffon and subsequently typhoon in English so that the problem is to show the origin of the Arabic word Tufan.

The synthetic method of attack inquires in the first instance, using the words of Yule and Burnell, were "These Portuguese and English forms first applied in China Sea or in the Indian Ocean". In still simpler language, What does Tufan mean? Where does its meaning find its full significance? Tufan is not a synonym for storm, it signifies a special kind of storm. The inquiry now becomes, Where does Tufan occur and what is its special feature?

Yule and Burnell quote Pinto who, in 1540, wrote, "Now having continued our navigation within this Bay of Cochin-China (there arose) a terrible storm of wind and rain which by the Chinese is named Tufan". In 1626, Purchas wrote, "In the way to Malacca to Japan they are encountered with great storms which they call Tuffoons". Dampier in 1688 added that "Tuffoons are a kind of violent storms blowing on the coast of Tonquin". Other subsequent authorities are also mentioned which specifically mention China Sea as the seat of occurrence of these storms called Tufan.

The question has now to be answered, what are its special features which are not found in storms elsewhere. It is not a seasonal phenomenon, it does not occur with regularity every year. In 1567, Caesar Frederike wrote about "Touffon (occurring) in the East Indies often times (but these) are not storms as in other countries; but every 10 or 12 years there are such tempests and storms that it is thing incredible". Its violence surpasses that of any storm anywhere so that Couto, in 1602, says about Tufão as, "a thing so overpowering and terrible and bringing such violence, such earthquake as it were, that it appears as if all the spirits of the internal world has got into the waves and seas". Further details are given to show that Tuffan surpasses in its violence all other storms on the face of the globe which singles it out among storms as a class.

The Chinese have been an energetic sea-faring nation. Their pirates were dreaded in seas far remote from their coasts. They were thus the last people to wait until foreign sailors lent them a suitable word to designate the storms of their own seas, particularly, when these storms, once experienced, leave a lasting impression upon the mind. Yet Yule and Burnell mention that, "There is no evidence that the word (Typhoon) is in Chinese use at all, it would perhaps be as fair a suggestion to derive it from the (old) English *tough'un*", and they even add that, "It is quite possible that the Formosan mariners took up their unexplained Tai-fung from the Dutch or the Portuguese". Here is a typical conclusion of specialized reasoning which is easily satisfied when even a minor historical record has been taken into consideration. To a critic of such a historical method the above conclusion is opposed to common sense for it ignores all psychological evidence indicating that the Chinese must have been the first to be impressed with the phenomenon of Tufan, and that they must necessarily be the first to have given a name to it.

What then is the Chinese word for Tufan or Typhoon if it is not either? According to Yule and Burnell, "Mr. Giles admits that the Chinese have special names for the Typhoon". When this information was already available it is a pity that the Chinese words for Tufan were not communicated at the same time. After all their number could not have been a large one for the dialects spoken along the coast bordering the China Sea are, Annamese, Cantonese, Hakka, Foochow and Ningpo dialects.

Deductive reasoning prunes possibilities leaving a few probabilities. The Chinese would naturally prefer to use a connotative term to convey the notion of a storm. Now storms are invariably atmospheric disturbances. In names like snow-storm, hail-storm, rain-storm and sand-storm it is wind carrying with it snow, hail, rain and sand. There is no storm without wind so the Chinese must necessarily realize this and they would incorporate the idea of wind in their term for a storm. This is deductive reasoning and one must now look to facts.

Giles, in his Dictionary, under character No. 3554, gives the term Feng-Shui, meaning Wind (and) Water, in the Ningpo dialect to signify Typhoon. Such a name of two words is in full harmony with the Chinese way of expression. For instance the term Shan-Shui, meaning Mountain (and) Water, stands for landscape, which is idealized as such by the Chinese and is represented likewise in their typical paintings. To them therefore Wind and Water is a real connotative term for a sea-storm or Typhoon.

The same Dictionary, gives, as character No. 3024, the word Chü, meaning Typhoon. The character is relatively simple in Chinese, for it is a compound of only two other characters, one being another character, also pronounced Chü, No. 3018, meaning All, and Feng, No. 3554, meaning Wind, so that the compound character, No. 3024, incorporates the idea "All-Wind". Here "All" has an analogous additive force like Maha in Hindustani. For example, "Rog" is any disease, while "Maharog" is leprosy. If Feng is Wind, All-Wind is Typhoon. Besides the word Chü, No. 3024, there is another term Chü-Feng, written as two different characters, literally meaning Typhoon-Wind, which appears redundant but makes the sense explicit when spoken, a necessary evil, tolerated in the Chinese, as explained in previous articles.

Character No. 4786, in Giles, is pronounced Hsüan and means Typhoon or whirlwind. The written character is a compound of two others, one being again, the word Feng or Wind, as was the case with Chü, No. 3024. There is another character No. 4780, also pronounced Hsüan, which does not incorporate the character Feng, meaning Wind. This Hsüan means "To turn round", and is used as an adjective to qualify Feng, and thus the term Hsüan-Feng, or turning round-Wind is a connotative name for a whirlwind or Typhoon. Cauto, in 1602, uses the sentence, "drives them in whirl" in describing a Tufan; the *Wandering of a Pilgrim*, in 1836, also speaks of "the whirling clouds of Tufan" and likewise Thomson, in 1727, of the "circling Typhoon"; all of which are quoted by Yule and Burnell.

In a land where Tufan is a regular, though not an annual, visitor, the observant people have given different names after its different attributes, e.g. Wind and Water; All-Wind; Whirling-Wind. Such a long contact with and experience of Tufan is denied to other nations, hence the want of more than one name in other languages where it has been modified into Tufan and Typhoon. Considerations, such as these, made "Sir J. Barrow ridicules learned antiquarians for fancying that the Chinese took Typhoon from the Egyptian Typhoon, the word being according to him simply the Chinese syllables, Ta-Fung, Great-Wind"; quoted by Yule and Burnell. The real difficulty seems to me, as has been already well pointed out by the last named writers, that "The Portuguese Tufão distinctly represents Tufan and not Tai-Fung and the oldest English form does the same". We want the history of the word Tufan which, Pinto in 1540, and other travellers, after him, mention as actually the name in use by the Chinese. We must give due significance to the records of a word in colloquial or vulgar use rather than to its more literary forms. It has been explained how Tufan is a special storm of the Chinese Sea. The independent conclusion has been also reached that it cannot belong to a language where it does not signify wind. When Robertson Smith translates Tufan as deluge and on this basis tries to derive it from the Semetic root, Tuf, to overflow, it speaks of his ingenuity rather than of his scholarship. Tufan primarily connotes an atmospheric disturbance, while its secondary meanings, which can be many, do not lead us to its correct etymology.

The Chinese for wind is Feng, character No. 3554 in Giles. Feng is its standardized transliteration. The "Ng" sound, familiar to Indian ears, is the one also present in the German word, Hunger, which is pronounced differently to that in English. Feng nearly rhymes with the English word lung, where E of the

former is like U of the latter. However, if to the sound Fa, we add Ung, or to the sound Faw we add Ng, the combination Faung or Fawng would give a more detailed indication of the real pronunciation of Feng. Faung is not identical with Fong, the latter pronunciation also exists but it is the Annamese variation as given by Giles. There is a subtle difference between Faung and Fong which must be noticed; there is the slight but distinct sound of A in Faung while there is a clear O in Fong. This difference in the two dialects is comparable with English and German where the same word is pronounced Long and Lang respectively only the difference here is more exaggerated. I do not believe that the Annamese Fong was similarly converted to Fang which automatically became Fan but that Tufan derives its last syllable from the standard word Feng, through a more complicated change.

The Ng sound in Faung is a compound of N and G which are not represented with equal intensity, the G sound is reduced to its minimum so that the slightest error towards simplification will affect its most delicate constituent and Faung will become Faun leaving the nasal N still more pronounced. I remember a German school-boy naively remarking that he had a friend who spoke like the French, the latter he represented as always suffering from a cold. The boy had clearly noticed the frequent use of the nasal N sound in French. The Portuguese have a similar tendency and this language has a regular orthographical sign to express it, Tufão being an example for Tufano, which has to be specially indicated that N is nasal here.

The word Tufão has just a vestige of the vowel sound O. When the word is not repeatedly heard or not clearly grasped it sounds Tufan. It is this latter word that is the earliest to be recorded in 1540 by the Portuguese traveller Pinto. From a born Portuguese or even from a Frenchman it cannot but be expected that N, in Tufan, is to be understood, as nasal. Yule and Burnell give two places where Pinto mentions this word. I can add a third from the German translation of Pinto's book, by Kuelb, Jena, 1868, on page 84. Briefly Tufan is an earlier and less accurate transliteration while Tufão, which chronologically appears later, gives a relatively better rendering of the original Chinese sound.

Yule and Burnell quote John Shipp, who, in 1826, spells the word, as Toofaun. The last syllable Faun is not to be pronounced like the English word Fawn but with a nasal N. Toofaun thus has the same sound as the Portuguese Tufão. The Portuguese and English transliterations are both different and yet they reproduce exactly the same sound which thus reveals a direct and independent contact of each with the Chinese. It thus signifies that the Chinese did use the name Tufan in conversation.

Feng in the Cantonese and in the Hakka dialects is pronounced Fung, as given by Giles. It can as well be expressed as Foong. Here the same change eliminated G and stressed the nasal N which transformed Feng into Fan, so that Foong also became Foon. This derivative forms the second syllable in the word Tufoon as recorded by Dampier in 1688, by Hamilton in 1727, and by De Rosa in 1780; all being quoted in Hobson-Jobson. It also mentions other variations of Typhoon which are not copies of one another but original attempts according to individual merit of transliterating the same word as spoken by the Chinese.

In Tufan, the last syllable, Fan is derived from Feng, the Chinese for Wind. In Typhoon, the last syllable, Foon is derived from the Cantonese variation Fung. It is now left for us to turn to the origin of the first syllable Tu, in Tufan and Ty, in Typhoon. We have to remember that according to the synthetic method each syllable must have a meaning and thus an origin. For example if Tuf is to overflow what does the suffix "An" contribute in making the word Tufan convey the meaning Deluge. This is an objection which has not been explained. Tufan has been shown to be the worst storm on the face of the earth. The name is therefore potentially

capable of travelling far and wide. At Ningpo Typhoon is expressed as Shui-Feng, Water and Wind, which is a very mild and therefore a non-expressive term for it. Perhaps at Ningpo it does not do the havoc for which it is dreaded further south. At any rate the name meaning Water and Wind has not gained a wide popularity. However the term, Water and Wind, is by no means so innocent for, according to Giles, in Ammoy it signifies a grave. Other Chinese names for Typhoon, meaning, All-Wind, Whirling-Wind, etc., connote a high wind or a cyclone rather than the dreadful Tufan and being non-expressive have also remained of mere local importance. We are now searching for an epithet to qualify the word Wind which will give us a term meaning a dreadful storm or something similar and further this epithet in the Chinese must be a word sounding Tu or Ty, the first syllable in Tufan and in Typhoon respectively.

Yule and Burnell quote Lane, the Arabic scholar, who defines "Tufan as an overpowering rain", which can well apply even to Indian Monsoon. Lane also translates Tufan as "Noah's flood" which makes Tufan a historical word; but Tufan is a phenomenon which occurred not once but does so even to this day. The word Tufan occurs in the Holy Koran. Maulvie Muhammad Ali's translation, Lahore, 1920, in Chapter VII, verse 133, renders Tufan as "Widespread death" while in verse 134, the same word is, curiously enough, translated as "plague". In the commentaries quoted by the translator, footnote No. 934, p. 355, Imam Raghib is cited who says that Tufan "is originally every accident that besets men on all sides and hence it is also applied to flood or deluge". According to *Taj-ul-'Arus*, "Tufan means death or quick and widespreading death" so that, Maulvie Muhammad Ali adds his own comment "hence it might mean either plague causing excessive death or flood", to justify his translation of Tufan as plague. The famous work *Sahih* of Imam Bukhari is quoted to mean "Widespread death as the true interpretation of Tufan". In footnote No. 935, Maulvie Muhammad Ali further states "Tufan or Widespread death". This I feel is the classical and the recognized translation of Tufan while to render Tufan, as plague, is a paraphrase rather than a translation, but, at least from our point of view, such a translation errs on the right side, in exaggerating the idea implied in Tufan as causing *sudden and widespread death*.

There are three important phases in the progress of Tufan: a severe sea-storm; the wind stirring the waves to high billows and causing a flood on the sea coast; sudden and widespread death due chiefly to inundation but also to the wind itself. This is the real picture of Tufan, a scourge no less dangerous than plague. Because of the unique character of this storm its name, Tufan, must have travelled to other countries, as soon as people came to hear of China Sea, Preislamic Arabia, ancient Egypt and Greece not being excluded.

Nearly all Chinese Dictionaries, by European scholars, translate Typhoon as Ta-Feng, Great-Wind. Giles discussing character No. 10470, Ta, meaning Great, adds that "Ta-Feng, Great-Wind (is) considered by some to be the origin of the word Typhoon through the Cantonese Tai-Fung"; Ta, in Cantonese, is Tai and Feng is pronounced Fung, as has been already mentioned. It has been explained how some names for Typhoon in Chinese are not expressive enough for a storm like Tufan. "Great-Wind" is a term no more connotative than "All-Wind", discussed previously. In fact these are synonyms as already explained. It would appear strange how in the struggle for expression, "All-Wind" should have been discarded and "Great-Wind" should have survived. European Dictionaries repeatedly translate Tufan as Great-Wind but Yule and Burnell correctly point out that "There is no evidence that the word (meaning Great-Wind) is in Chinese use at all". I may again mention that many a scholar has not distinguished between

the name in colloquial use and the one recorded in books. An independent criticism by Yule and Burnell to this effect is of great value here.

Synthetic reasoning has shown that several Chinese names did not become popular because they were not expressive enough for a storm which is something dreadful. Reasoning from an entirely opposite direction the conclusion has been reached that Tufan must signify a cause, be it wind, which produces a sudden loss of human life on a large scale.

The term Shui-Feng, Water and Wind can be substituted by a stronger expression, T'ao-Feng, Torrent and Wind. T'ao, character No. 10816 in Giles, means Rushing Water or Torrent, which is a forceful agent. Giles translates Torrent and Water as the East-Wind, and possibly most Typhoons have an easterly direction from the sea towards the land which may thus be a synonym for Typhoon. This is my conjecture and is not supported by Giles whose translation conveys a very innocent sense. T'ao in Cantonese is pronounced T'ou so that the sound can be easily imagined to have been modified into Tu, the first syllable of Tufan. The sense Torrent-Wind is sufficiently suggestive to make it stand for something terrible.

Tu, character No. 12054, is rendered by Giles as poisonous; but Chinese has no adjectives hence poison is as correct if not even a better translation. The term Tu-Feng would therefore mean Poison-Wind rather than poisonous wind. If Shui-Feng is Water and Wind, Tu-Feng is certainly Poison and Wind. Some clever artists paint pictures in pure elementary colours, which are calculated to mix in the eye and give the brightest effect a picture can produce. In Tu-Feng, the concepts Poison and Wind are independently carried to the mind where they unite to convey the real notion of a homicidal Wind. Wind, with an enormous mass, must, by this virtue, operate upon a large scale, while, in its action, it is proverbially swift. Poison-Wind, explicitly means poison quickly broadcast and implicitly, after its obvious effect, sudden and widespread death. Those who have known the experience of poisonous gas during war times would at once understand such an extensive effect. The Chinese give the important word the first place in a term. In a name their surnames come before their proper names. Shui-Feng might have been coined for a deluge and seeing how often Typhoons cause deluge the term Water and Wind may have finally come to represent Typhoon in the Ningpo dialect. At any rate in Tu-Fan, Poison precedes Wind and the orthodox interpretation must also consider the senior position the word Poison occupies in the term. When we ask what is Tufan the simple answer is, "it is wind", if we ask, what does it do, the typical answer is "sudden and widespread death". Names are best given according to their uses or according to their action. This action of Tufan in causing widespread death is incorporated in the term Poison-Wind, where the word Poison is given the first position because Tufan is better known by its effect than by its nature.

The word Tu-Feng is unfortunately not given in Giles, whose Dictionary is voluminous and was printed in 1892. But it is found in the earlier *Vocabulary of the Chinese Language*, by J. Doolittle, Vol. II, page 314, published in 1872. Doolittle translates Simoon as Tu-Feng which at least assures of its existence and probably suggests an earlier use of the term. In the article on Plague it was likewise pointed out that Ta-Wen as such is not given in any of the present Dictionaries but nevertheless an authentic record of its occurrence has been produced. Now Simoon is a derivative of Sam, the Arabic for poison. Apparently without incorporating the word Wind it has somehow come to signify a poisonous wind. The Chinese Tu-Feng cannot be translated more literally than by Simoon into Arabic. What Simoon is in an Arabian desert is Tu-Feng even more so in the China Sea. Both in Arabic and in Chinese their respective names signify a homicidal wind. Because of their dreadful nature both these names have attracted the attention of other nations

who have imported them with a change in pronunciation characteristic of their languages.

The suggestion has been made early that Tufan and Typhoon have a common root and a common meaning. The word Tu, Poison, is pronounced with two variable sounds in the Hakka dialect, T'eu being one of them. Thus the Hakka term T'eu-Fung (Tu-Feng) has probably given rise to Typhoon. Fung has been previously explained to have been modified into Foon or Phoon. T'eu-foon can be written in a simpler form as Typhoon.

Yule and Burnell have been quoted to say that the Portuguese Tufão was Anglicized into Touffon and subsequently modified into Typhoon. On the contrary Tufão of the Portuguese and Touffon of the early English travellers, when pronounced with a nasal N, are the same in sound. These are two different transliterations and not two modifications. The English did not copy their word from the Portuguese, they had ample opportunities to hear it spoken from the Chinese themselves. The Portuguese did not copy from the Arabs for Tufan is not so near the Chinese original as the Portuguese Tufão. The Arabic language prefers a clear N sound to a nasal one, present in Chinese and in Portuguese; the sound A in Tufan has been prolonged in Arabic, while it is a short one both in Chinese and in Portuguese. Tufan of the Arabs, Tufão of the Portuguese and Touffon of the English seem to have been derived from Tu-Feng as might have been spoken by boat passengers. T'eu-Fung of the Hakka dialect must have been used by mariners coming from South China and English sailors probably acquired this term. With increased navigation T'eu-Fung must have been heard more frequently. Touffon was not modified into Typhoon but the latter is an original transliteration. Hobson-Jobson gives other variations in the spelling of Tufan and Typhoon which all appear original attempts to reproduce a Chinese term spoken by passengers and ordinary Chinese sailors.

SUMMARY

Books on travel specifically mention the storm of China Sea as Tufan or Typhoon. It is the worst storm known to man. It is a wind, becoming a cyclone, driving away rain, causing deluge and finally sudden and widespread loss of human life. In the various translations of Tufan the different phases of Tufan have been incorporated and all are partly correct. The original Chinese term is Tu-Feng, Poison-Wind, as probably spoken by boat passengers. The Arabs converted it into Tufan, the Portuguese into Tufão, some English writers into Touffon which is best pronounced with a nasal N. The Arabic word has a long A sound and a distinct N. According to a variation of the Hakka dialect Tu-Feng is pronounced T'eu-Fung which has been modified into Typhoon. The contact of English sailors with Chinese mariners coming from the South of China has probably given birth to the word Typhoon. There are other possible transliterations of these two Chinese terms Tu-Feng and T'eu-Fung and it is interesting to see how the various spellings preserve the original Chinese sound, in parts at least.

REYNOLD ALLEYNE NICHOLSON

By A. A. A. Fyzee

. . . . None who prefers vain desire or is inclined to ease or turns back from his search or has anxiety about his means of livelihood will ever attain unto knowledge . . . . . . unless he seek refuge with God from the vileness of (worldly) interests and from an ignorance (so blind) that he makes much of the little which he sees in himself and makes little of the much and great (which he finds) in others, and admires himself on account of that (self-conceit) for which God hath not given him permission . . . Transcendent is God and Exalted above the sayings of the blasphemers.

—The *Mathnawī* of Rūmī, Daftar iii, Introduction,
Translated by R. A. Nicholson.

IT is with deep regret that students of Islam and Persian and Arabic will learn of the death of Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge University. His name was a household word among European students of Islam and Sufism, and his death removes from the world one of the foremost of the Islamic scholars of our time. To his pupils in India—and they are many—it will mean also the loss of a personal friend; for apart from his scholarship he had the unusual gift of allowing his students to forget that he was their teacher until they thought of him only as a valued friend.

Nicholson was born on the 19th August, 1868 and died at Chester on the 27th of August, 1945 at the age 77. As a student he distinguished himself in Latin and Greek, and came to Cambridge after a brilliant classical career at Aberdeen. At Cambridge he took the Indian Languages Tripos with Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and proceeded during the rest of his life studiously to forget every word of Urdu he had learnt, and to gain complete mastery over the other two languages. His first appointment was to the chair of Persian at London University, but soon he returned to Cambridge as Fellow of Trinity and University Lecturer in Persian, a post which he held for many years. In 1938, upon the death of Professor E. G. Browne, he was elected to the Sir Thomas Adams's Chair of Arabic at Cambridge. He retired about 5 years ago by superannuation, but continued his teaching and researches with unabated zeal. During all these years he was a tireless worker; he edited texts, wrote books, contributed papers and reviews to learned periodicals, guided research workers, and lectured to Tripos students on Arabic and Persian. Towards the end of his life, he began to complain of weakness of eyesight; and in one of his letters to me he expressed the beautiful thought that while the outward eye weakens and finally closes, light comes to the inward eye and it opens. He was a regular correspondent, and always helped his old pupils and friends with their difficulties. I am the happy possessor of a number of his letters and they have now become a valued literary treasure.

During the years 1910 to 1925, Cambridge was lucky in possessing three brilliant scholars of Islamic Literature—A. A. Bevan, E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson. Bevan was the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Trinity. Trained under Wright, Robertson Smith and Theodor Noeldeke, he was a master of the Semitic languages and was completely at home in the classics, and German and French. He was a pure Arabist; a grammarian and philologist, he read nothing beyond the choicest Arabic of the classical period. An exact scholar, his mind possessed rare critical powers, and it was an education to hear him expounding any text, grammatical, poetical or exegetical. His devotion to his studies was remarkable; he once told me quietly that if a man were to read Arabic eight hours

a day for fifty years, as he had done, it would be almost impossible for him not to know the language fairly well. E. G. Browne was a general student of Persia, the author of the *Literary History of Persia* (4 vols.), a fascinating book of travel *A Year Amongst the Persians*, and the editor of numerous texts. A man of wide sympathies and culture, he was also an inspired teacher, being equally at home in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. To his students and acquaintances from the East he was generous to a fault. He lent money freely to needy vagabonds and lost both gold and friend. In one case, he bore the expenses of educating a Turkish friend's son, merely because it was impossible for him to stop the boy's education, since the father had become a pauper on account of political troubles. Nicholson, the youngest of the three, was a quiet, sound scholar, less spectacular than the others, whose published work will ever remain a monument to his meticulous scholarship, brilliant insight and steadfast devotion. He possessed a deep understanding of Islam and had a profound respect for the Prophet. It is also probable that a lifelong devotion to Rūmī and the Sufis had made of him almost a mystic in his outlook on life. A favourite maxim of his was *aṣ-ṣabr miftāḥu'l-faraj* (patience is the key to happiness); he has quoted this to me more than once in his letters.

He was most regular with his students and came fully prepared with the texts to be read. In my time (1922–25) our lectures were held either at Trinity or Pembroke, or sometimes at his house, 12 Harvey Road. There was nothing impressive about his appearance. He would come with a small gladstone bag, some thirty years old, bursting with papers and books, in a shabby suit with bulging trousers, looking like a provincial salesman rather than a university professor. But his eyes were the eyes of a dreamer and not those of a tradesman; and "illumination" would come to the student if he was faithful, sincere and steadfast. Then, by degrees, he would be lifted from his own plane and begin to soar with the master; and finally, when the journey was over and the period of apprenticeship ended, he would feel that no man could have done more to speed him towards an endless journey; he would feel that Nicholson in bidding farewell was speaking to him in the words of Dante

> "Son, the temporal fire and the eternal, hast
> thou seen, and art come to a place where I
> of myself, discern no further." [1]

A brief account must now be given of his contributions to oriental scholarship. While it is impossible in Bombay to prepare a complete bibliography of his works, it is a matter of gratification that most of the volumes from his pen are to be found in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Beginning in 1898, he produced some 35 volumes of texts, translations, monographs and lectures. His earliest work was the *Selected Poems of Shamsi Tabriz* (Cambridge, 1898). It was his Fellowship thesis at Trinity, in which he dealt with the principles of translation from Arabic and Persian, the importance of Greek Philosophy and the origin of Sufism. At that time he held the view that Sufism was the result primarily of Greek influence, a view which he modified later; for in 1923, after a quarter of a century of labour and thought in his lectures on the *Idea Of Personality in Sufism* (Cambridge University Press), he was convinced that the seeds of Sufism were to be found in the Qur'ān itself.

During the years 1907–1911, he produced four volumes which will always be of assistance to students of Arabic. He revised and edited Thornton's *Grammar* (an abridgement of the work of Wright) and chrestomathy, and induced the Cambridge University Press to publish these volumes in a series, called the Elementary Arabic Series (Vol. I, Grammar, Vols. II–IV, Readers). In this work he was greatly helped

[1] Cited recently by T. S. Eliot in his Annual Address to the Virgil Society *What is a Classic?* on the 16th October, 1944 (Faber), page 32.

by Professor A. A. Bevan, and the Readers are therefore extremely useful for the beginner. In fact their accuracy of text and annotation may be considered a model for works designed for elementary students.

Of the texts that he edited or translated the most important are:

1905 *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā'* of Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār (Persian Text), 2 vols., with an introduction in Persian by Mirzā Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Wahhābi Qazwīnī.

1911 *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, the Arabic Odes of Muḥyiddīn Ibnu'l-'Arabī (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., Vol. 22).

1911 Translation of *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb* of Hujwīrī, Persian text, edited by Zhukovski. Gibb Mem. Ser., XVII.

1914 Ṭūsī's *Kitāb al-Luma'*, Arabic Text, with an abridged translation and notes, Gibb Mem. Ser., Vol. 22.

1914 *Ta'rīkhi Guzīda* by Qazwīnī. Persian text and translation, 2 vols., in collaboration with Prof. E. G. Browne.

Finally, between 1925 and 1941, his edition and translation of the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī in eight volumes, which is incomplete.

To the generality of students he is best known by his *Literary History of Arabia*, which is in its second edition. It was one of his earliest works, and while it does not contain much original research and is perhaps not as mature and balanced as his later books, it is a useful summary of the salient features of Arabic Literature in its historical setting, expressed in his own scholarly and individual style. He also edited several Arabic and Persian texts, and wrote a number of essays and monographs on various topics. As a translator from the Arabic and Persian, he has few equals in the English language. He combines accuracy with gracefulness of style to a degree which is unrivalled; in this department he must be ranked with Professor E. G. Browne and Sir Charles Lyall. Many examples of his exquisite renderings could be given, especially from his *Eastern Poetry and Prose*, but I shall content myself only with one. Students of Persian and Urdu can well realize how difficult it is to render the expression *zabāni ḥāl* adequately into a medium like English. Nicholson employs the phrase "mute eloquence", which will at once be recognized as a rendering of precision and insight. It is possible that I am reminded of this expression because Nicholson was a simple, silent man, his appearance completely belying his extraordinary gifts; but his life was mutely eloquent of his complete absorption in his particular field of study.

His most important work, which occupied him for eighteen years, was his edition and translation of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāluddīn Rūmī in eight volumes, three of text, three of translation, and two of commentary. It is most unfortunate that he was not able to complete the ninth volume in which he intended to summarize the teaching and philosophy of Rūmī and to write a proper introduction to that "Qur'ān in Pahlawi", the *Mathnawī*. But I learn from Professor A. J. Arberry (London) that the materials for this volume are happily in such a state that he will be in a position to take up the work of the master and bring it to a successful completion.

We have already seen that his translations are felicitous. He first gave evidence of his talents in the *Literary History*; then he translated Iqbāl's *Asrāri Khudī* (1920); followed it up with a volume of selections, *Translations from Eastern Poetry and Prose* (1922), and crowned his labours with his magnificent rendering of the *Mathnawī*, which according to its illustrious author contains "the roots of the roots of the roots of religion".

Of his monographs, two require special mention. In 1921 he produced *Studies in Islamic Poetry* and *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. These volumes deal with Abū Sa'īd Abi'l-Khayr, Ibnu'l-Fāriḍ, al-Ma'arrī and Awfī, and include a learned article on the concept of *al-Insānu'l-Kāmil*.

His relations with Prof. Browne had always been cordial and two items deserve to be mentioned. In 1922 he edited, in collaboration with others, the *'Ajabnāma* (A volume presented to Professor E. G. Browne on his 60th Birthday) and also compiled a *Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. of E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1932). The former contains articles by scholars all over the world and is a volume of exceptional value. The latter contains a brief memoir of Professor Browne, his friend and teacher. These were the debts of honour and of gratitude paid by one teacher to another, whose rare talents and wide sympathies have been recognized and appreciated all over the world.

Nicholson was extremely kind to his students, and it is impossible to forget the extraordinary amount of generosity which he showed to us. In his lectures, he first of all insisted upon a strict understanding of the text itself; and he had no use for brilliancy of comment or imaginative interpretation which was not based upon the sure foundations of grammar, philology and exact scholarship. During the three unforgettable years spent under him at Cambridge, he would often tell us that at Oxford they looked for brilliancy, but "here, we insist upon accuracy". Throughout India his pupils will learn with sorrow that their teacher and friend is no more. And some of us in Bombay will feel the loss more poignantly because he had promised to prepare the text of Rūmī's tract *al-Qaṣd ilā'l-Lāh* for publication in the Islamic Research Association Series but did not live to complete it, and also because his last contribution to orientalism was published in the pages of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1943. He there gave us an abridged rendering in verse of a poem of Sanā'ī under the caption "A Persian Forerunner of Dante". In this brief but beautiful piece Nicholson exhibits all his artistry as a translator; it is not only scholarship of the highest order, but is illuminated by the spark of true poetry, and I shall conclude by giving the last stanza, in the hope and prayer that it may apply to the translator himself:

My eyes were opened to a Paradise
Of azure ports and towers. He bade me look.
"Time's end," he said. "Death cannot touch thee now."

Bombay, 3 May, 1946.

SOME WARTIME RUSSIAN ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS

By W. Ivanow

Since the Revolution of 1917 Oriental studies in Russia have undergone complex development. Orthodox, highly technical studies in historical, linguistical, archaeological and other fields have continued as before, sometimes, as in the case of Central Asian archaeology, being much augmented and perfected. At the same time a bold bid has been made to bring Oriental studies and their results out of the atmosphere of the auditorium or library, popularize them, and make them the basis of a better understanding between the various races and nationalities inhabiting the Union. Whenever an opportunity presents itself for examining the latest Russian literature in general, various magazines or weeklies, it is everywhere possible to notice quite astonishing traces of this drive. Many historical figures, events, poetic creations of the various nationalities which were formerly known only to a very narrow circle of specialists have now been made available to the "man-in-the-street". Even if not very familiar to him, they are, nevertheless, not entirely strange and exotic. Taking into consideration that only 29 years have elapsed since the Revolution, and that during the greater part of that period the country has endured the pangs of birth of the new order, or has been ravaged by the greatest war in history, the achievement seems really surprising.

It is hardly necessary to argue that in a country such as India, with her immensely complex national problem, and where such ideas have not even dawned upon the educated classes, the Russian experiment deserves careful attention. It is a great pity that although Russia is a neighbour of India, cultural relations between the countries are practically non-existent, and that Russian publications are received here only as it were accidentally and on very rare occasions.

It seems worth while therefore to offer here a short summary of a few of the publications of the Russian Academy of Sciences which have been recently received. To a certain extent even these few works give an idea of the present state of Oriental studies in the Union.

Before proceeding with this, however, I would like to take leave to make a few explanatory remarks on the Academy of Sciences. Founded some 225 years ago, by Peter the Great, on the lines of the French and Dutch institutions of this kind, the Russian Academy has gradually gained the position of the central institution, organizing and, to a great extent, directing all researches and study, as apart from the purely teaching functions which remained with the universities and the educational apparatus in general. In this development the Russian Academy has greatly overgrown its foreign prototypes. Already by the end of the last century it was a great institution controlling dozens of museums, laboratories, libraries, experimental and biological stations, observatories, and so forth, publishing scores of learned editions, and, last not least, owning a press, probably unique of its kind, which could print works in any language. We, accustomed to shabby printing and inferior paper during the war, may look with envy at the excellent printing of these editions, and their excellent paper. Paper in Russia, however, owing to the immense forest wealth of the country, always was of the highest quality. Judging from its durability even in the destructive climate such as in India, even its cheaper varieties used for printing books, were always, of their type, probably the finest in the world.

During the later decades the importance of the Academy has increased still more, and it has become in large measure a kind of the "brain of the country", with its numerous affiliated institutions. We may reasonably hope that with the settlement of the world stirred up by the war, and better facilities for international cultural contact and co-operation, it would be the Russian Academy which would be able to take up that matter of immense importance and urgency, the planning in Oriental research. We can see now in daily life how obsolete is that relic of Middle Ages, the hobby-like approach of students to their work in the choice of subject. Tremendous amount of waste is going here, worthless matters being taken up while basic and central problems remain neglected, barring or impeding the further progress of studies as a whole.

I. Let us first take the edition which illustrates these new popularizing tendencies in contemporary Russian Orientalism. It is a small book of 120 pages, by Prof. I. Krachkovsky, with the title "While studying Arabic Manuscripts" (which may be also translated as "Bending down over Arabic Manuscripts"), published in 1945. The aim of the book in the series to which it belongs is to give to wide circles of the public an idea of the learned work in various specialities. Prof. I. Krachkovsky certainly needs no special introduction to any student of Arabic. He is an expert in and an exceptionally erudite student of Arab poetry, modern and Christian Arabic literatures, Arabic philology, and it would be no exaggeration to say that there is hardly any department of Arabic studies with which he would not feel himself fully conversant, having contributed to it something in print.

His book, written in simple, plain, unpretentious style, is a kind of learned autobiography, entirely concerned with the author's interesting experiences, meeting with persons prominent in the world of Oriental studies, and his numerous valuable finds. Taking into consideration the fact that he is a learned specialist, not a writer of fine prose, his attempt is a great success, and only here and there would one suggest a reduction in lyricism. It is that personal element which cements and smoothes technicalities and exotic oddities which would otherwise prove not easily negotiable to general reader. The style is very condensed, and therefore it is not easy either to sum up the contents or select specimens from it. Perhaps if translated into French, may be German, the book may appeal to foreign intellectuals. I doubt whether it would appeal at all to the English reader, and have not the slightest doubt that in India it will not find readers. It is too exotic for this country, both in its scenery, subject, and especially in spirit. The dominating tone of unreserved self-sacrifice to the interests of the study, the unhesitating readiness to put up with any discomfort, privation, even suffering for the sake of it, all seem to be quite alien to the mentality of the Indian student who primarily values financial success.

II. Quite different is another volume amongst the few that have been received. This is a learned monograph by the Moscow specialist in Turkish, Prof. V. Gordlevsky, "The Seljuq State in Asia Minor" (Moscow, 1941, pp. 199). It offers a short survey of the political history of the state (470–707/1077–1307), and especially analyses various aspects of its life: the ethnic composition of the ruling Turks, their old tribal organization, customs, and so forth, the feudal order in the state, the central government of the sultan, administration, peasants, trades, town life, the court, armed forces, art, literature, and religion.

The monograph is very interesting, and while reading it one cannot help wishing that similar monographs could be written about other dynasties and countries of the world of Islam. Speaking frankly, however, the book possesses an apparently secondary but really annoying defect: it is the language in which it is written. The author suffers from what may be figuratively described as a "language tic". He cannot say anything plainly, without making faces and "winking". This seriously

distracts and wears out the reader, and produces an impression of confusion and obscurity.

The period with which the work deals is of great interest not only to the Turkish student but also to every student of Persian literature and civilization. The Soljuq empire in Persia and adjacent countries of which the state in Asia Minor was an offshoot, came into existence at the period when Persia had attained the highest level of her cultural development in history. It was *the* civilized country of that world, with its brilliant literature and art. Even the devastation caused by the brutal Mongols could not ruin it at once, and it required the efforts of Timur and his worthy successors to lay the country flat. The Mongol invasion, as is known, touched Asia Minor only in a minor degree, and in fact stimulated a greater cultural development by driving to its territory crowds of refugees amongst whom were sometimes found persons of the calibre of Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, the author of the "Coran in the Pehlevi language", the *Mathnawî*. The historical background which the book provides throws an interesting light upon this prominent figure. Only twenty or thirty years ago there was rarely a household of the middle or upper classes in Persia in which one could not find at least three books: the Coran, the *Dîwân* of Ḥâfiẓ, and Rûmî's *Mathnawî*. The latter particularly exercised far-reaching influence upon the literary tastes and mentality of generations.

It is therefore interesting to see the real, historical Rûmî in his real environs, living closely surrounded by the Greeks and Christians in general. His wife was a Greek woman, and his own son, Sulṭân-Walad, not only could speak Greek, but wrote poetry in that language (employing, however, Arabic letters). His associates, especially one of the most enigmatic figures in the history of Persian literature, Shams-i Tabrîz, all belonged to the same milliou.

The author tries to prove that the Seljuqs of Asia Minor are wrongly regarded as the spearhead of militant Islam, the bigots who ruined the relics of Byzantine civilization. In fact, however, the ruling princes were rarely fanatics. Many were drunkards, many were indifferent in religious matters. Quite a number of them were married to Christian princesses, or lived at the Byzantine court during the periods of their exile in the never ceasing struggle for the throne. Few of them, on the contrary, displayed great interest in religion, as in the case of Ruknu'd-dîn Qlîch Arslân (655–663/1257–1265) who was said to be a secret Ismaili. Ismailism, and Shi'ism in general, was very popular amongst the various Turkish tribes. Crowds of darwishes from Eastern Persia, usually of extremist Shi'ite leanings, migrating from the devastated territories of the East, found great support here. It is said that the founder of the Suhrawardî Sufic order, Shihâbu'd-dîn Abû Ḥafs 'Umar b. Muḥammad Suhrawardî was a secret Ismaili. His namesake and fellow countryman, Shihâbu'd-dîn Yaḥyâ b. Ḥabash b. Amîrak Suhrawardî, surnamed *Maqtûl*, i.e. the "Martyr" (lit. "murdered"), enjoyed a life of pleasure at the courts of various Seljuq princes, but was ultimately apprehended in Aleppo, and charged with Ismaili opinions. He died in prison in 587/1191 (a correction for "578" is here necessary), and rumour treated it as the murder of an innocent. Recently this mystagogue has become the subject of studies by some orientalists, obviously inspired by the example of Prof. L. Massignon's important monograph on Ḥallâj. But while this latter work is a product of sound and genuine scholarship and sincere search after the truth, the attempts of the imitators are inspired by different motives. Recently some works have been published in which fantastic theories are advanced concerning the "Martyr's" developing a mysterious "ancient Iranian" philosophical tradition (*ḥikmatu'l-mashâriqa*), claimed to be the source of the whole of Greek philosophy as well! All this absurd chaff seems to be born out of elementary misunderstanding. The mythical "ancient sages" whom the enterprising "Martyr" introduces as the founders of the *ḥikmat*, like Jamshîd, Khusrawanids, and so forth,

have been most probably brought in as a cheap device to mystify and impress his princely patrons. Many of these had a craze for ancient Persian names, and assumed the names such as Kay-Qubâds, Kay-Khusraws, Kay-Qâ'ûses, and so forth, patronized the Persian language, literature, art, Persian refugees, often at the expense of their native Turkish subjects. Prof. Gordlevsky offers no comments on the reason for such a craze, but it is quite probable that this was due to what is now known as "inferiority complex". Surely, these Turkish nobles had nothing to do with ancient Persia. But, when coming in touch with an ancient civilization of Byzantium, they made use of Persian ancient glories in the absence of Turkish literary tradition. It was the "East" opposed to the "West" in general, intended to counterbalance it. The intelligent and enterprising "Martyr" simply took the hint, and from *ishrâq* manufactured "*mashriq*", the East, with its alleged wisdom.

III. The last item is Volumes II and III of the new Oriental periodical, the "Sovietskoe Vostokovedenie", or "Soviet Oriental Studies", intended to take the place of the early well-known "Zapiski". The first of these volumes, II, appeared only a few weeks before the German invasion in 1941, while the third vol., ready by that time, was actually in the press during the long period of the siege of Leningrad, and came out in 1945.

While continuing the old tradition, and including some valuable learned contributions of general importance, the new periodical, obviously reflecting newer currents, contains also a few articles which normally would better come under the head of publicistic as touching on very recent or even current political questions. It is not for the first time that such experiments of blending study and current life have been made in Russia (cf. the "Mir Islama" just before the first World War), obviously with the view to bring such learned periodicals nearer to actual life. But if in the past, with its much slower tempo of life, such attempts proved to be a failure, it seems that at present there is even less chance of their being successful. With the modern means of communication discussion of actuality cannot be relegated to periodicals which appear once a year, or even rarer. It may sound a heresy, but it seems to me that now, with the advanced specialization, even the idea of such "Oriental Magazines" in which all branches of Oriental research are given a few pages, seems obsolete. It is unavoidable to split them up, grouping cognate subjects.

Volume II opens with the article by E. V. Boonakov, "Notes on the history of Russia's relations with the Central-Asian khanates in the XIX c.". It discusses the reasons which necessitated the "colonial expansion" of Russia in Central Asia. These reasons are, of course, well-known: the necessity to protect Russia's Eastern trade, to save the population of Russian border districts from persistent raids of brigands who yearly carried away thousands of Russian subjects into slavery, and the fears of British expansion which might have forestalled Russia, creating for the latter immense problems in national defence. Negotiations with the governments of the khanates continued for decades, all kinds of agreements were signed, obligations undertaken, but all this proved to be a waste of time and energy as the decaying Central-Asian states had no means to bring their own subjects under control and stop their depredations. The author is chiefly concerned with the development of Russian trade in Central Asia, where, by her geographical position, Russia had almost a complete monopoly.

U. A. Solodukho in the paper "The importance of Hebrew sources of the early Middle Ages for the history of the Near East", touches on the question of the use of legal codes, and commentaries on these, as a source of information for the study of social relations in early mediaeval life. It looks as if his Hebrew sources are not very plentiful, however. For Islamic countries there is indeed an enormous store of material, still entirely untouched, namely the numerous works on *fiqh* and *ḥadîths*,

with their numerous commentaries. When properly studied, they will prove to be a mine of information for the sociologist, anthropologist and historian.

Prof. I. Krachkovsky, in his, as usual, extremely erudite article, "Mutanabbiana" (pp. 137–148), on the occasion of the 1000 years' jubilee since the date of Mutanabbi's death, 354 A.H., takes up the question of the study of his poetry, and publishes the late baron V. Rosen's translation of two *qaṣîdas*.

D. V. Semenov discusses the merits of Ibrâhîm al-Mazînî's Arabic novel 'Ibrâhîm al-Kâtib'.

Prof. A. P. Barannikov's "On some principles in Indology" discusses the development of Sanskrit.

V. M. Beskrovny in "The movement in favour of a state language in India" deals with the Congress policy, or rather its failure, in the attempts to enforce Hindî as a *lingua franca* in India. The article displays complete lack of understanding of the real conditions in India.

Prof. I. Krachkovsky, together with a short necrologue of the late Y. S. Vilenchik, publishes some specimens of the latter's projected dictionary of dialects of Arabic.

Articles on non-Islamic and non-Indian subjects are:

N. V. Pigulevsky, "The Avars and Slavs in the Syriac historical literature".

Y. B. Radul-Zatoolovsky, "The materialistic philosophy of Ito Dzinsay (1627–1705)", on Japanese philosophy.

N. N. Poppe, "A birch-tree paper manuscript from the Golden Horde".

L. S. Poochkovsky, "Some aspects of the critical description of Mongolian MSS".

K. K. Flug, "On the catalogues of Chinese serial libraries, chun-su".

In the section of reviews Prof. I. Krachkovsky analyses J. H. Sanders' book, "Tamerlane or Timur the great Amir" (Lond., 1936), a translation of Ibn 'Arab-Shâh's well-known history, proving that this is merely a translation from the old Latin translation by Manger (1767–1772), repeating many old errors, and adding new ones.

Volume III, printed under siege conditions in Leningrad, when out of the 18 authors who contributed to it eight have died, is restricted in size, and contain little of Islamic interest.

I. Krachkovsky's "References to the Russian Revolution of 1905 in Arab literature".

Kh. M. Tsovikian, "The influence of the Russian Revolution of 1905 upon the revolutionary movement in Turkey".

I. Krachkovsky and A. Genko, "The Arabic letters of Shamil in Northern Ossetia".

P. P. Ivanov, "New materials concerning the Qaraqalpaqs". The author, one of those who died during the siege, bases his study on a large collection of documents relating to land tenure and cognate matters in Khiva, amongst the Qaraqalpaqs. His study is very interesting for the social history of Turkestan in general prior to the Russian occupation.

V. M. Stein, "China in the X and XI cc.".

V. A. Gordlevsky, "The exploitation of mines in Turkey" (period of 967–1196 A.H.), based on the materials published by Aḥmad Rafîq.

V. M. Alexeyev, "Utopian monism and the 'Chinese ceremonies' in the works of Su Shun, XI c. A.D."

A. M. Barabanov, "Explanatory signs in Arabic MSS. from Northern Caucasus". They are used almost everywhere, mostly in school books, but seem to be particularly developed by the Caucasian Muslims.

A. A. Kholodovich, "The Accusative case with substantives in Japanese".
A. I. Ponomarev, "Corrections to the reading of Timur's inscription".
V. P. Taranovich, "I. Rossokhin and his Sinological studies".
N. V. Pigulevsky, "The Syriac MSS in Leningrad".
V. Gordlevsky, "Ahmed Refiq Altintay (1880–1937)", a biography.
Y. B. Radool-Zatoolovsky, "Philosophic terminology in the Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum ac Japonicum".
K. K. Flug, "On the editions of Po Chuan Hsueh Hai".

In the section of reviews and short notes, I. Krachkovsky, mentioning his intention to publish a translation of the Coran, independent of any traditional and theological interpretation, gives details of an earlier translation by D. N. Boguslavsky, a learned army general who spent much time in Turkey. The first Russian translation of the Coran was published about 1730, and there were many newer versions.

(Note.—It may be added that considerable extracts from Prof. I. Krachkovsky's book, mentioned above, "While studying Arabic Manuscripts", have been published in an Arabic translation in the November number of the Cairo monthly, *al-Kâtib al-Miṣrî*.)

THE TEXT OF THE ABHIDHARMAKOŚAKĀRIKĀ OF VASUBANDHU

By V. V. Gokhale

Introduction

The present work, A Treasury of Buddhist Lore, written by one of the representative philosophers of the early Gupta age, has been the subject of deep and interesting research for the last 35 years. Stcherbatsky has described in his Introduction to the edition of the First Chapter of Yaśomitra's Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā [*Bibl. Bud.*, XXI, 1918] the plan, which some of the leading Buddhist scholars of Europe and Japan proposed in Dec. 1912, for carrying out the work of editing critically, translating into various languages, and taking a systematic review of the philosophy embodied in Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa, which was till then available mainly in its Chinese, Tibetan and Uighur versions, as well as that of editing the only available Saṃskṛta commentary of the work by Yaśomitra. Among the complete works, published by the sponsors of that scheme, none of whom unfortunately seems to be living today, the following deserve a special mention:—

(1) O. Rosenberg: Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie [Petrograd, 1918, translated into German by Mrs. Rosenberg, Heidelberg, 1924]—a brilliant contribution to the study of Buddhist philosophical thought, based especially on the traditional interpretations of the Abhidharmakośa, current in the Far East.

(2) Louis de la Vallée Poussin (= LVP): L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, Vols. I–VI [Paris, 1923–31], a testimony to the wide and accurate learning of the author, who has made an admirable attempt to reconstruct, on the basis of Chinese and Tibetan materials, almost the whole of the Kārikā text, of which the original is being published here.

(3) U. Wogihara's scholarly edition of the Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā *by* Yaśomitra [= Yaś], Vols. I-II [Tokyo, 1932–36].

None of the scholars who have so far dealt with this remarkable treatise of Vasubandhu, however, had the advantage of basing their work actually on the Saṃskṛta text of either the Kārikā or the author's own Bhāṣya, both of which were taken to have been irrevocably lost to the civilized world, until the discovery of their MSS. in the Tibetan monastery of Ngor was announced by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana in 1935. I have to thank Mr. Y. A. Godbole, I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. Governor, Bihar, for his generous efforts in making the photographic negatives, containing the Kārikā text, available to me through the good offices of the Librarian of the Bombay University, Dr. P. M. Joshi.

This material consists of eight negatives taken on quarter plate films so as to include both sides of a total of 50 folios. A study of their photographic enlargements, however, has made it clear, that only 44 out of these 50 folios belong to the present MS. of the Abhidharmakośakārikā, with only one missing folio [i.e., No. 35, see note on VI, 52d below]. Two folios represent the opening pages of another manuscript of our text, written quite carefully only on one side of each folio, the other side being marked by various kinds of notes. The Kārikā text in these two folios covers nearly the first twenty-two and a half verses of the first chapter, and it shows no variations except in orthography. One folio belongs to a

MS. of the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu. It is marked No. 4 on the *b* side, on which the writing breaks off in the middle of the page, leaving the lower half blank. The text herein corresponds with the greater part of Vasubandhu's Bhāṣya on I. 43 [= LVP., Chap. I, pp. 86–91]. The remaining three folios, numbered as 47, 49 and 50, appear to belong to some Vinaya commentary, not located so far.

Without going into the detailed epigraphy of the principal MS. of 44 folios, edited here, it may be briefly observed, that the MS. shows two easily distinguishable handwritings. As many as 36 of the folios show a proper Nepalese straight handwriting with hooked tops, while the remaining 8 folios [viz. Nos. 3, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 44 and 45], besides the verse written on the title page [i.e., fol. 1*a*], have been written in an evidently proto-Bengali curved style. Both types belong to the same eastern variety of the Nāgarī alphabet (Bühler, Indische Palaeographie §26] and are comparable with Bendall's Cambridge MS. Add. 1691. 2, dated 1179 A.D. and the Brit. Mus. MS., No. 1439, dated 1286 A.D. [Bühler's Tafel VI, Cols. XI-XII]. The figure numerals, obtained in the pagination, may also be compared with those in the Cambridge MSS. Add. 1644 and Add. 1648, both belonging to the early thirteenth century A.D., so that the period between XII-XIII centuries A.D. may be fixed as approximately determining the date of our present MS. That the MS. must have been handled for a long time for various scholarly purposes can be surmised not only from the numerous marginal corrections made from time to time in different hands and the worn out appearance particularly of the stringholes [generally one in each folio, slightly towards the left of the centre] and of some of the pages [e.g., fol. 3*a*, 16*b*, 22*b*, 23*a*, 45*b*] which have become very faint and illegible, but also from some Tibetan notes, made in cursive handwriting in the margins of folios 11*a* and 15*b*, giving Tibetan translations of some of the Saṃskṛta phrases occurring on the respective folio. Unfortunately, the writing on the last page of the MS. [45*b*], which is expected to contain some information concerning the scribe, the date and the provenance of this interesting MS., has become, at least in the photograph, completely effaced [—see the last note on the text below]. But the special method of interpunctuation adopted by the scribe in nearly the first two-third part of the MS., viz. in putting small single or double vertical bars just above the line to mark separate words or phrases, seems to testify to his own understanding of the subject as well as his desire to facilitate the reader's understanding of the text.

This brings us to the method of Roman transcription, adopted for the present edition of the text. I have mainly followed LVP's edition of the Fragments de la Kārikā [Vol. VI, pp. 1–14] in simplifying and regularizing the orthographical peculiarities, consisting in the doubling of the consonant following upon a conjunct *r*, the non-distinction between *v* and *b*, or *ś* and *s*, variations in respect of the parasavarṇa and anusvāra, etc. But I have thought it proper to provide a further facility to the reader by separating the different uncompounded words everywhere. In doing this, however, the resultant of a svarasaṃdhi between two separate words has been transferred to the beginning of the second word (excepting in the case of *a*+*a* = *ā*, which is included in the first word, followed by an avagraha in the second), and so far as the avagraha sign is concerned, it is used only for the following *a*, assimilated with the preceding vowel, either within or without a compound.

This unique MS. of the Abhidharmakośakārikā has the outstanding merit of deciding once for all the controversy regarding the exact character of its ninth chapter, called the Pudgalanirdeśa [which was supposed to be all in prose], as consisting of 13 verses, and also of determining the number of verses in the main body of the work [Chaps. I–VIII] as exactly 600 [see notes on V, 32 and VI, 13 below]. In the concluding verses of Chapter VIII, Vasubandhu gives us a glimpse of the Buddhist scholasticism of his age, torn more by internal dissensions than by external

criticisms. Was he perhaps referring to the perversions of the devastating dialectic of his eminent predecessors, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, when he complained [verse 41], that the true meaning of the Founder's teachings was being stifled by unprincipled and unbridled sophism? Was he challenging the loose practices in the saṃgha, which were gradually gaining recognition among the Buddhist moral philosophers, under the name of the Tantric liberty of thought, when he described people as roaming without guidance, carrying along with them their virtue-killing, uncontrollable dirt [verse 42]? In the demoralizing atmosphere around him Vasubandhu had set before himself the task of rallying the forces of true spiritual salvation, by giving a collective interpretation of the traditions of the Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas, who had according to his knowledge preserved in an organized form the complete and authentic teachings of Śākyamuni [verse 40]. His Kośa thus claims to be a key to the knowledge of all that the oldest Buddhism represented in the field of thought and action, in ontology, psychology, cosmology, theory and practice of discipline, philosophy of action, mysticism, life of a superman.

This is not the place to discuss the legends that have grown around the composition of these concise and pregnant Kārikās, which were first published by the author without any exposition, and the storm of criticism they evoked from the camps of the Vaibhāṣikas, led by Saṃghabhadra, when Vasubandhu subsequently published his own Bhāṣya on them. [For a brief reference to one point of controversy, see my article: What is Avijñaptirūpa? NIA., Vol. I, i, 1938.] But, it has to be remembered, that while Vasubandhu tried to present an authoritative system of Buddhistic thought on the basis of the well-developed doctrines of the Vaibhāṣikas, he never pretended to agree with them in all the views they held, particularly where such views seemed to him to run counter to the meaning of the Sūtras, supposed to have been delivered by the Founder himself. He would rather be a true Sautrāntika. He fully deserved the tribute, paid by Haribhadra to his talent for systematic and lucid expositions, as well as to his fine grasp of subtle metaphysical distinctions, of which he was very proud. [The reference is worth quoting here: bhāvā'bhāvavibhāgapakṣanipuṇajñānā'bhimānonnataḥ / ācāryo Vasubandhur arthakathane prāptāspadaḥ paddhatau //—from Abhisamayā'laṃkārālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā, ed. by U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932–34, p. 1, ll. 17-18.] But, he had also a gift for developing new and original formulations of his own philosophical conviction. In his Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa he develops his subject in full agreement with the Sautrāntika point of view [É. Lamotte: Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu, Introduction, Bruxelles, 1936]. In his Pañcaskandhaka he speaks of the Ālayavijñāna and the Tathatā [see further description in my article: The Pañcaskandhaka by Vasubandhu and its Commentary by Sthiramati, *Ann. Bh. Inst.*, Vol. XVIII, 1937, p. 286]. In his Trisvabhāvanirdeśa, he summarizes the new dogmatism, concerning a three-fold world of cognition [LVP: Le petit traité de Vasubandhu-Nāgārjuna sur les trois natures, MCB., Vol. II, pp. 147–161]. He is known to have written logical treatises like the Vādavidhāna; and Viṃśikā and Triṃśikā on the Vijñaptimātratā system of philosophy mark him as an alert and receptive thinker, capable of establishing new lines of thought. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that after completing his śāstra in the first eight chapters of his work, Vasubandhu should have proceeded to supplement it with a ninth chapter, in which he could freely discuss the central conception of Buddhism, eventually the problem of the Self, the central pivot, around which turned the philosophical speculations and controversies among the non-Buddhists as well as some Buddhists like the Vātsīputrīya spiritualists. He propounds in this chapter the essence of all Buddhist teaching [verse 11: buddhānāṃ pravacanadharmatā] as consisting in the knowledge of the non-being, nirātmatā, which alone can enlighten the path leading to the gates of Deliverance [verse 12]. His last sentence is remarkable for its sharp irony and tone

of self-confidence. "Here I have cared to suggest", he means to say, "just the main line of reasoning for the benefit of those, who may be intelligent enough to grasp it. Let them remember, however, that this is just like injecting a little drop of poison, which is bound to spread quickly all through the body by its own potency."

I am glad to acknowledge the financial assistance and the Library facilities offered to me by the University of Bombay for carrying on the present investigation. To my distinguished friend, Prof. D. D. Kosambi, I can never be too grateful for the personal interest taken by him in the work and valuable suggestions given at every stage of its progress.

Poona,
August 17, 1946.

Abhidharmakośakārikā

I

* namo buddhāya

yaḥ sarvathā sarvahatā'ndhakāraḥ
saṃsārapaṅkāj jagad ujjahāra
tasmai namaskṛtya yathā'rthaśāstre
śāstraṃ pravakṣyāmy abhidharmakośam [1]
prajñā 'malā sā'nucarā 'bhidharmas
tatprāptaye yā 'pi ca yac ca śāstram
tasyā 'rthato 'smin samanupraveśāt
sa v āśrayo 'sy ety abhidharmakośaḥ [2]
dharmāṇāṃ pravicayam antareṇa nā 'sti
kleśānāṃ yata upaśāntaye 'bhyupāyaḥ
kleśaiś ca bhramati bhavā'rṇavo 'tra lokas
taddhetor ata uditaḥ kil aiṣa śāstrā [3]
sāsravā'nāsravā dharmāḥ saṃskṛtā mārgavarjitāḥ
sāsravā āsravās teṣu yasmāt samanuśerate [4]
anāsravā mārgasatyaṃ trividhaṃ cā 'py asaṃskṛtam
ākāśaṃ dvau nirodhau ca tatr ākāśam anāvṛtiḥ [5]
pratisaṃkhyānirodho yo visaṃyogaḥ pṛthak pṛthak
utpādā'tyantavighno 'nyo nirodho 'pratisaṃkhyayā [6]
te punaḥ saṃskṛtā dharmā rūpādiskandhapañcakam
ta evā 'dhvā kathāvastu saniḥsārāḥ savastukāḥ [7]
ye sāsravā upādānaskandhās te saraṇā api
duḥkhaṃ samudayo loko dṛṣṭisthānaṃ bhavaś ca te [8]
rūpaṃ pañcendriyāṇy arthāḥ pañcā 'vijñaptir eva ca
tadvijñānāśrayā rūpaprasādāś cakṣurādayaḥ [9]
rūpaṃ dvidhā viṃśatidhā śabdas tv aṣṭavidho rasaḥ
ṣoḍhā caturvidho gandhaḥ spṛśyam ekādaśātmakam, [10]
vikṣiptā'cittakasyā 'pi yo 'nubandhaḥ śubhā'śubhaḥ
mahābhūtāny upādāya sa hy avijñaptir ucyate [11]
bhūtāni pṛthivīdhātur aptejovāyudhātavaḥ
dhṛtyādikarmasaṃsiddhāḥ kharasnehoṣṇateraṇāḥ [12]
pṛthivī varṇasaṃsthānam ucyate lokasaṃjñayā
āpas tejaś ca vāyus tu dhātur eva tathā 'pi ca [13]

indriyā'rthās ta ev eṣṭā daśāyatanadhātavaḥ
vedanā 'nubhavaḥ saṃjñā nimittodgrahaṇātmikā [14]
caturbhyo 'nyo tu saṃskāraskandha ete punas trayaḥ
dharmāyatanadhātvākhyāḥ sahā 'vijñaptyasaṃskṛtaiḥ [15]
vijñānaṃ prativijñaptir manaāyatanaṃ ca tat
dhātavaḥ sapta ca matāḥ ṣaḍ vijñānāny atho manaḥ [16]
ṣaṇṇām anantarā'tītaṃ vijñānaṃ yad dhi tan manaḥ
ṣaṣṭhāśrayaprasiddhyarthaṃ dhātavo 'ṣṭādaśa smṛtāḥ [17]
sarvasaṃgraha ekena skandhen āyatanena ca
dhātunā ca svabhāvena parabhāvaviyogataḥ [18]
jātigocaravijñānasāmānyād ekadhātutā
dvitve 'pi cakṣurādīnāṃ śobhā'rthaṃ tu dvayodbhavaḥ [19]
rāśyāyadvāragotrā'rthāḥ skandhāyatanadhātavaḥ
mohendriyarucitraidhāt tisraḥ skandhādideśanāḥ [20]
vivādamūlasaṃsārahetutvāt kramakāraṇāt
caittebhyo vedanāsaṃjñe pṛthak skandhau niveśitau [21]
skandheṣv asaṃskṛtaṃ n oktam arthā'yogāt kramaḥ punaḥ
yathaudarikasaṃkleśabhājanādyarthadhātutaḥ [22]
prāk pañca vārtamānārthyād bhautikārthyāc catuṣṭayam
dūrāśutaravṛttyā 'nyad yathāsthānaṃ kramo 'tha vā [23]
viśeṣaṇā'rtham prādhānyād bahudharmā'grasaṃgrahāt
ekam āyatanaṃ rūpam ekaṃ dharmākhyam ucyate [24]
dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi yāny aśītiṃ jagau muniḥ
tāni vāñ nāma v ety eṣāṃ rūpasaṃskārasaṃgrahaḥ [25]
śāstrapramāṇa ity eke skandhādīnāṃ kath aikaśaḥ
caritapratipakṣas tu dharmaskandho 'nuvarṇitaḥ [26]
tathā 'nye 'pi yathāyogaṃ skandhāyatanadhātavaḥ
pratipādyā yathokteṣu saṃpradhārya svalakṣaṇam [27]
chidram ākāśadhātvākhyam ālokatamasī kila
vijñānadhātur vijñānaṃ sāsravaṃ janmaniśrayaḥ [28]
sanidarśanam eko 'tra rūpaṃ sapratighā daśa
rūpiṇo 'vyākṛtā aṣṭau ta evā 'rūpaśabdakāḥ [29]
tridhā 'nye kāmadhātvāptāḥ sarve rūpe caturdaśa
vinā gandharasaghrāṇajihvāvijñānadhātubhiḥ [30]
ārūpyāptā manodharmamanovijñānadhātavaḥ
sāsravā'nāsravā ete trayaḥ śeṣās tu sāsravāḥ [31]
savitarkavicārā hi pañca vijñānadhātavaḥ
antyās trayas triprakārāḥ śeṣā ubhayavarjitāḥ [32]
nirūpaṇā'nusmaraṇavikalpenā 'vikalpakāḥ
tau prajñā mānasī vyagrā smṛtiḥ sarv aiva mānasī [33]
sapta sālambanāś cittadhātavo 'rdhaṃ ca dharmataḥ
navā 'nupāttās te cā 'ṣṭau śabdaś cā 'nye nava dvidhā [34]
spraṣṭavyaṃ dvividhaṃ śeṣā rūpiṇo nava bhautikāḥ
dharmadhātvekadeśaś ca saṃcitā daśa rūpiṇaḥ [35]
chinatti cchidyate c aiva bāhyaṃ dhātucatuṣṭayam
dahyate tulayaty evaṃ vivādo dagdhṛtulyayoḥ [36]
vipākajaupacayikāḥ pañcā 'dhyātmaṃ vipākajāḥ
na śabdo 'pratighā aṣṭau naiṣyandikavipākajāḥ [37]
tridhā 'nye dravyavān ekaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ paścimās trayaḥ
cakṣurvijñānadhātvoḥ syāt pṛthag lābhaḥ sahā 'pi ca [38]
dvādaś ādhyātmikā hitvā rūpādīn dharmasaṃjñakaḥ
sabhāgas tatsabhāgāś ca śeṣā yo na svakarmakṛt [39]

daśa bhāvanayā heyāḥ pañca cā 'ntyās trayas tridhā
na dṛṣṭiheyam akliṣṭaṃ na rūpaṃ nā 'py aṣaṣṭhajam [40]
cakṣuś ca dharmadhātoś ca pradeśo dṛṣṭir aṣṭadhā
pañcavijñānasahajā dhīr na dṛṣṭir atīraṇāt [41]
cakṣuḥ paśyati rūpāṇi sabhāgaṃ na tadāśritam
vijñānaṃ dṛśyate rūpaṃ na kilā 'ntaritaṃ yataḥ [42]
ubhābhyām api cakṣurbhyām paśyati vyaktadarśanāt
cakṣuśrotramano 'prāptaviṣayaṃ trayam anyathā [43]
tribhir ghrāṇādibhis tulyaviṣayagrahaṇam matam
caramasy āśrayo 'tītaḥ pañcānāṃ sahajaś ca taiḥ [44]
tadvikāravikāritvād āśrayāś cakṣurādayaḥ
ato 'sādhāraṇatvāc ca vijñānaṃ tair nirucyate [45]
na kāyasyā 'dharaṃ cakṣur ūrdhvaṃ rūpaṃ na cakṣuṣaḥ
vijñānaṃ cā 'sya rūpaṃ tu kāyasy obhe ca sarvataḥ [46]
tathā śrotraṃ trayāṇāṃ tu sarvam eva svabhūmikam
kāyavijñānam adharasvabhūmy aniyataṃ manaḥ [47]
pañca bāhyā dvivijñeyā nityā dharmā asaṃskṛtāḥ
dharmā'rdham indriyaṃ ye ca dvādaś ādhyātmikāḥ smṛtāḥ [48]

dhātunirdeśo nāma prathamaṃ kośasthānam

II

caturṣv artheṣu pañcānām ādhipatyaṃ dvayoḥ kila
caturṇāṃ pañcakāṣṭānāṃ saṃkleśavyavadānayoḥ [1]
svārthopalabdhyādhipatyāt sarvasya ca ṣaḍindriyam
strītvapuṃstvādhipatyāt tu kāyāt strīpuruṣendriye [2]
nikāyasthitisaṃkleśavyavadānādhipatyataḥ
jīvitaṃ vedanāḥ pañca śraddhādyāś c endriyaṃ matāḥ [3]
ājñāsyāmyākhyam ājñākhyam ājñātāvīndriyaṃ tathā
uttarottarasamprāptinirvāṇādyādhipatyataḥ [4]
cittāśrayas tadvikalpaḥ sthitiḥ saṃkleśa eva ca
sambhāro vyavadānaṃ ca yāvatā tāvad indriyam [5]
pravṛtter āśrayotpattisthitipratyupabhogataḥ
caturdaśa tathā 'nyāni nivṛtter indriyāṇi vā [6]
duḥkhendriyam asātā yā kāyikī vedanā sukham
sātā dhyāne tṛtīye tu caitasī sā sukhendriyam [7]
anyatra sā saumanasyam asātā caitasī punaḥ
daurmanasyam upekṣā tu madhy obhayy avikalpanāt [8]
dṛgbhāvanā'śaikṣapathe nava trīṇy amalaṃ trayam
rūpīṇi jīvitaṃ duḥkhe sāsravāṇi dvidhā nava [9]
vipāko jīvitaṃ dvedhā dvādaśā 'ntyāṣṭakād ṛte
daurmanasyāc ca tat tv ekaṃ savipākaṃ daśa dvidhā [10]
mano'nyavittiśraddhādīny aṣṭakaṃ kuśalaṃ dvidhā
daurmanasyaṃ mano 'nyā ca vittis tredhā 'nyad ekadhā [11]
kāmāptam amalaṃ hitvā rūpāptaṃ strīpumindriye
duḥkhe ca hitv ārūpyāptaṃ sukhe cā 'pohya rūpi ca [12]
mano vittitrayaṃ tredhā dviheyā durmanaskatā
nava bhāvanayā pañca tv aheyāny api na trayam [13]
kāmeṣv ādau vipākau dve labhyete n opapādukaiḥ
taiḥ ṣaḍ vā sapta vā 'ṣṭau vā ṣaḍ rūpeṣv ekam uttare [14]
nirodhayaty uparamann ārūpye jīvitaṃ manaḥ
upekṣāṃ c aiva rūpe 'ṣṭau kāme daśa navā 'ṣṭa vā [15]

kramamṛtyau tu catvāri śubhe sarvatra pañca ca
navāptir antyaphalayoḥ saptā'ṣṭanavabhir dvayoḥ [16]
ekādaśabhir arhattvam uktaṃ tv ekasya saṃbhavāt
upekṣājīvitamanoyukto 'vaśyaṃ trayā'nvitaḥ [17]
caturbhiḥ sukhakāyābhyāṃ pañcabhiś cakṣurādimān
saumanasyī ca duḥkhī tu saptabhiḥ strīndriyādimān [18]
aṣṭābhir ekādaśabhis tv ājñājñātendriyānvitaḥ
ājñāsyāmīndriyopetas trayodaśabhir anvitaḥ [19]
sarvā'lpair niḥśubho 'ṣṭābhir vinmanaḥkāyajīvitaiḥ
yukto bālas tath ārūpya upekṣā'yurmanaḥśubhaiḥ [20]
bahubhir yukta ekān na viṃśatyā 'malavarjitaiḥ
dviliṅga āryarāgy ekaliṅgadvyamalavarjitaiḥ [21]
kāme 'ṣṭadravyako 'śabdaḥ paramāṇur anindriyaḥ
kāyendriyī navadravyo *daśadravyo 'parendriyaḥ* [22]
cittacaittāḥ sahā 'vaśyaṃ sarvaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇaiḥ
prāptyā vā pañcadhā caittā mahābhūmyādibhedataḥ [23]
vedanā cetanā saṃjñā chandaḥ sparśo matiḥ smṛtiḥ
manaskāro 'dhimokṣaś ca samādhiḥ sarvacetasi [24]
śraddhā 'pramādaḥ praśrabdhir upekṣā hrīr apatrapā
mūladvayam ahiṃsā ca vīryaṃ ca kuśale sadā [25]
mohaḥ pramādaḥ kausīdyam āśraddhyaṃ styānam uddhavaḥ
kliṣṭe sad aivā 'kuśale tv āhrīkyam anapatrapā [26]
krodhopanāhaśāṭhyerṣyāpradāśamrakṣamatsarāḥ
māyāmadavihiṃsāś ca parīttakleśabhūmikāḥ [27]
savitarkavicāratvāt kuśale kāmacetasi
dvāviṃśatiś caitasikāḥ kaukṛtyam adhikaṃ kva cit [28]
āveṇike tv akuśale dṛṣṭiyukte ca viṃśatiḥ
kleśaiś caturbhiḥ krodhādyaiḥ kaukṛtyen aikaviṃśatiḥ [29]
nivṛte 'ṣṭādaśā 'nyatra dvādaśā 'vyākṛte matāḥ
middhaṃ sarvā'virodhitvād yatra syād adhikaṃ hi tat [30]
kaukṛtyamiddhā'kuśalāny ādye dhyāne na santy ataḥ
dhyānāntare vitarkaś ca vicāraś cā 'py ataḥ param [31]
ahrīr agurutā 'vadye bhayā'darśitvam atrapā
prema śraddhā gurutvaṃ hrīs te punaḥ kāmarūpayoḥ [32]
vitarkacārāv audāryasūkṣmate māna unnatiḥ
madaḥ svadharme raktasya paryādānaṃ tu cetasaḥ [33]
cittaṃ mano 'tha vijñānam ekārthaṃ cittacaitasāḥ
sāśrayālambanākārāḥ samprayuktāś ca pañcadhā [34]
viprayuktās tu saṃskārāḥ prāptyaprāptī sabhāgatā
āsaṃjñikaṃ samāpattī jīvitaṃ *lakṣaṇāni ca* [35]
nāmakāyādayaś c eti prāptir lābhaḥ samanvayaḥ
prāptyaprāptī svasaṃtānapatitānāṃ nirodhayoḥ [36]
traiyadhvikānāṃ trividhā śubhādīnāṃ śubhādikā
svadhātukā tadāptānāṃ anāptānāṃ caturvidhā [37]
tridhā naśaikṣā'śaikṣāṇām aheyānāṃ dvidhā matā
avyākṛtāptiḥ sahajā 'bhijñānairmāṇikād ṛte [38]
nivṛtasya ca rūpasya kāme rūpasya nā 'grajā
akliṣṭā'vyākṛtā 'prāptiḥ sā 'tītā'jātayos tridhā [39]
kāmādyāptā'malānāṃ ca mārgasyā 'prāptir iṣyate
pṛthagjanatvaṃ tatprāptibhūsaṃcārād vihīyate [40]
sabhāgatā sattvasāmyam āsaṃjñikam asaṃjñiṣu
nirodhaś cittacaittānāṃ vipākas te bṛhatphalāḥ [41]

tathā 'saṃjñisamāpattir dhyāne 'ntyo niḥsṛtīcchayā
śubh opapadyavedy aiva n āryasy aikādhvikā 'pyate [42]
nirodhākhyā tath aiv eyaṃ vihārārthaṃ bhavā'grajā
śubhā dvivedyā 'niyatā c āryasy āpyā prayogataḥ [43]
bodhilabhyā muner na prāk catustriṃśatkṣaṇāptitaḥ
kāmarūpāśrayo t ūbho nirodhākhyādito nṛṣu [44]
āyur jīvitam ādhāra uṣmavijñānayor hi yaḥ
lakṣaṇāni punar jātir jarā sthitir anityatā [45]
jātijātyādayas teṣāṃ te 'ṣṭadharmaikavṛttayaḥ
janyasya janikā jātir na hetupratyayair vinā [46]
nāmakāyādayaḥ saṃjñāvākyā'kṣarasamuktayaḥ
kāmarūpāptasattvākhyā niṣyandā 'vyākṛtās tathā [47]
sabhāgatā vipāko 'pi traidhātuky āptayo dvidhā
lakṣaṇāni ca niṣyandāḥ samāpattyasamanvayāḥ [48]
kāraṇaṃ sahabhūś c aiva sabhāgaḥ saṃprayuktakaḥ
sarvatrago vipākākhyaḥ ṣaḍvidho hetur iṣyate [49]
svato 'nyo kāraṇaṃ hetuḥ sahabhūr yo mithaḥphalāḥ
bhūtavac cittacittā'nuvartilakṣaṇalakṣyavat [50]
caittā dvau saṃvarau teṣāṃ saṃvarau lakṣaṇāni ca
cittā'nuvartinaḥ kālaphalādiśubhatādibhiḥ [51]
sabhāgahetuḥ sadṛśāḥ svanikāyabhuvo 'grajāḥ
anyonyaṃ navabhūmis tu mārgaḥ samaviśiṣṭayoḥ [52]
prayogajās tayor eva śrutacintāmayādikāḥ
saṃprayuktakahetus tu cittacaittāḥ samāśrayāḥ [53]
sarvatragākhyaḥ kliṣṭānāṃ svabhūmau pūrvasarvagāḥ
vipākahetur aśubhāḥ kuśalāś c aiva sāsravāḥ [54]
sarvatragaḥ sabhāgaś ca dvyadhvagau tryadhvagās trayaḥ
saṃskṛtaṃ savisaṃyogaṃ phalaṃ nā 'saṃskṛtasya te [55]
vipākaphalam antyasya pūrvasyā 'dhipataṃ phalam
sabhāgasarvatragayor niṣyandaḥ pauruṣaṃ dvayoḥ [56]
vipāko 'vyākṛto dharmaḥ sattvākhyo vyākṛtodbhavaḥ
niṣyando hetusadṛśo visaṃyogaḥ kṣayo dhiyā [57]
yadbalāj jāyate yat tat phalaṃ puruṣakārajam
apūrvaḥ saṃskṛtasy aiva saṃskṛto 'dhipateḥ phalaṃ [58]
vartamānāḥ phalaṃ pañca gṛhṇanti dvau prayacchataḥ
vartamānā'bhyatītau dvāv eko 'tītaḥ prayacchati [59]
kliṣṭā vipākajāḥ śeṣāḥ prathamāryā yathākramam
vipākaṃ sarvagaṃ hitvā tau sabhāgaṃ ca śeṣajāḥ [60]
cittacaittās tathā 'nye 'pi saṃprayuktakavarjitāḥ
catvāraḥ pratyayā uktā hetvākhyaḥ pañca hetavaḥ [61]
cittacaittā acaramā utpannāḥ samanantaraḥ
ālambanaṃ sarvadharmāḥ kāraṇākhyo 'dhipaḥ smṛtaḥ [62]
nirudhyamāne kāritraṃ dvau hetū kurutas trayaḥ
jāyamāne tato 'nyau tu pratyayau tadviparyayāt [63]
caturbhiś cittacaittā hi samāpattidvayaṃ tribhiḥ
dvābhyām anyo tu jāyante n eśvarādeḥ kramādibhiḥ [64]
dvidhā bhūtāni taddhetur bhautikasya tu pañcadhā
tridhā bhautikam anyonyaṃ bhūtānāṃ ekadh aiva tat [65]
kuśalā'kuśalaṃ kāme nivṛtā'nivṛtaṃ manaḥ
rūpārūpyeṣv akuśalād anyatrā 'nāsravaṃ dvidhā [66]
kāme nava śubhāc cittāc cittāny aṣṭābhya eva tat
daśabhyo 'kuśalaṃ tasmāc catvāri nivṛtaṃ tathā [67]

pañcabhyo nivṛtaṃ tasmāt sapta cittāny anantaram
rūpe daś aikaṃ ca śubhān navabhyas tad anantaram [68]
aṣṭābhyo nivṛtaṃ tasmāt ṣaṭ tribhyo 'nivṛtaṃ punaḥ
tasmāt ṣaḍ evam ārūpye tasya nītiḥ śubhāt punaḥ [69]
nava cittāni tat ṣaṭkān nivṛtāt sapta tat tathā
caturbhyaḥ śaikṣam asmāt tu pañcā 'śaikṣaṃ tu pañcakāt [70]
tasmāc catvāri cittāni dvādaś aitāni viṃśatiḥ
prāyogikopapattyāptaṃ śubhaṃ bhittvā triṣu dvidhā [71]
vipākajairyāpathikaśailpasthānikanairmitam
caturdhā 'vyākṛtaṃ kāme rūpe ṣilpavivarjitam [72]
kliṣṭe traidhātuke lābhaḥ ṣaṇṇāṃ ṣaṇṇāṃ dvayoḥ śubhe
trayāṇāṃ rūpaje śaikṣe caturṇāṃ tasya śeṣite [73]

indriyanirdeśo nāma dvitīyaṃ kośasthānam

III

narakapretatiryañco manuṣyāḥ ṣaḍ divaukasaḥ
kāmadhātuḥ sa narakadvīpabhedena viṃśatiḥ [1]
ūrdhvaṃ saptadaśasthāno rūpadhātuḥ pṛthak pṛthak
dhyānaṃ tribhūmikaṃ tatra caturthaṃ tv aṣṭabhūmikam [2]
ārūpyadhātur asthāna upapattyā caturvidhaḥ
nikāyaṃ jīvitaṃ cā 'tra niśritā cittasaṃtatiḥ [3]
narakādisvanāmoktā gatayaḥ pañca teṣu tāḥ
akliṣṭā'vyākṛtā eva sattvākhyā nā 'ntarābhavaḥ [4]
nānātvakāyasaṃjñāś ca nānākāyaikasaṃjñinaḥ
viparyāyāc caikakāyasaṃjñāś cā 'rūpiṇas trayaḥ [5]
vijñānasthitayaḥ sapta śeṣaṃ tatparibhedavat
bhavā'grā'saṃjñisattvāś ca sattvāvāsā nava smṛtāḥ [6]
anicchāvasanān nā 'nye catasraḥ sthitayaḥ punaḥ
catvāraḥ sāsravāḥ skandhāḥ svabhūmāv eva kevalam [7]
vijñānaṃ na sthitiproktaṃ catuṣkoṭi tu saṃgrahe
catasro yonayas tatra sattvānām aṇḍajādayaḥ [8]
caturdhā naratiryañco nārakā upapādukāḥ
antarābhavadevāś ca pretā api jarāyujāḥ [9]
mṛtyūpapattibhavayor antarābhavat iha yaḥ
gamyadeśā'nupetatvān n opapanno 'ntarābhavaḥ [10]
vrīhisaṃtānasādharmyād avicchinnabhavodbhavaḥ
pratibimbam asiddhatvād asāmyāc cā 'nidarśanam [11]
sah aikatra dvayā'bhāvād asaṃtānād dvayodayāt
kaṇṭhokteś cā 'sti gandharvāt pañcokter gatisūtrataḥ [12]
ekākṣepād asāv aiṣyatpūrvakālabhavākṛtiḥ
sa punar maraṇāt pūrva upapattikṣaṇāt paraḥ [13]
sajātiśuddhadivyā'kṣidṛśyaḥ karmarddhivegavān
sakalā'kṣo 'pratighavān anivartyaḥ sa gandhabhuk [14]
viparyastamatir yāti gatideśaṃ riraṃsayā
gandhasthānābhikāmo 'nya ūrdhvapādas tu nārakaḥ [15]
saṃprajānan viśaty ekas tiṣṭhaty apy aparo 'paraḥ
niṣkrāmaty api sarvāṇi mūḍho 'nyo nityam aṇḍajaḥ [16]
garbhā'vakrāntayas tisraś cakravartisvayaṃbhuvām
karmajñānobhayeṣāṃ vā viśadatvād yathākramam [17]
n ātmā 'sti skandhamātraṃ tu kleśakarmā'bhisaṃskṛtam
antarābhavasaṃtatyā kukṣim eti pradīpavat [18]

yathākṣepaṃ kramād vṛddhaḥ saṃtānaḥ kleśakarmabhiḥ
paralokaṃ punar yāti ity anādibhavacakrakam [19]
sa pratītyasamutpādo dvādaśāṅgas trikāṇḍakaḥ
pūrvā'parāntayor dve dve madhye 'ṣṭau paripūriṇaḥ [20]
pūrvakleśadaśā 'vidyā saṃskārāḥ pūrvakarmaṇaḥ
saṃdhiskandhās tu vijñānaṃ nāmarūpam ataḥ param [21]
prāk ṣaḍāyatanotpādāt tat pūrvaṃ trikasaṃgamāt
sparśaḥ prāk sukhaduḥkhādikāraṇajñānaśaktitaḥ [22]
vittiḥ prāṅ maithunāt tṛṣṇā bhogamaithunarāgiṇaḥ
upādānaṃ tu bhogānāṃ prāptaye paridhāvataḥ [23]
sa bhaviṣyadbhavaphalaṃ kurute karma tad bhavaḥ
pratisaṃdhiḥ punar jātir jarāmaraṇam āvidaḥ [24]
āvasthikaḥ kil eṣṭo 'yaṃ prādhānyāt tv aṅgakīrtanam
pūrvā'parāntamadhyeṣu saṃmohavinivṛttaye [25]
kleśās trīṇi dvayaṃ karma sapta vastu phalaṃ tathā
phalahetvabhisaṃkṣepo dvayor madhyā'numānataḥ [26]
kleśāt kleśaḥ kriyā caiva tato vastu tataḥ punaḥ
vastu kleśāś ca jāyante bhavā'ṅgānām ayaṃ nayaḥ [27]
hetur atra samutpādaḥ samutpannaṃ phalaṃ matam
vidyāvipakṣo dharmo 'nyo 'vidyā 'mitrā'nṛtādivat [28]
saṃyojanādivacanāt kuprajñā cen na darśanāt
dṛṣṭes tatsaṃprayuktatvāt prajñopakleśadeśanāt [29]
nāma tv arūpiṇaḥ skandhāḥ sparśāḥ ṣaṭ saṃnipātajāḥ
pañca pratighasaṃsparśāḥ ṣaṣṭho 'dhivacanāhvayaḥ [30]
vidyā'vidyetarasparśā amalakliṣṭaśeṣitāḥ
vyāpādā'nunayasparśau sukhavedyādayas trayaḥ [31]
tajjāḥ ṣaḍ vedanāḥ pañca kāyikī caitasī parā
punaś cā 'ṣṭādaśavidhā sā manopavicārataḥ [32]
kāme svālambanāḥ sarve rūpī dvādaśagocaraḥ
trayāṇām uttaro dhyānadvaye dvādaśa kāmagāḥ [33]
svo 'ṣṭālambanam ārūpyo dvayor dhyānadvaye tu ṣaṭ
kāmāḥ ṣaṇṇāṃ caturṇāṃ sva ekasy ālambanaṃ paraḥ [34]
catvāro 'rūpisāmante rūpagā eka ūrdhvagaḥ
eko maule svaviṣayaḥ sarve 'ṣṭādaśa sāsravāḥ [35]
uktaṃ ca vakṣyate cā 'nyad atra tu kleśa iṣyate
bījavan nāgavan mūlavṛkṣavat tuṣavat tathā [36]
tuṣitaṇḍulavat karma tath aiv auṣadhipuṣpavat
siddhā'nnapānavad vastu tasmin bhavacatuṣṭaye [37]
upapattibhavaḥ kliṣṭaḥ sarvakleśaiḥ svabhūmikaiḥ
tridhā 'nyo traya ārūpyeṣv āhārasthitikaṃ jagat [38]
kavaḍīkāra āhāraḥ kāme tryāyatanātmakaḥ
na rūpāyatanaṃ tena svā'kṣamuktā'nanugrahāt [39]
sparśasaṃcetanāvijñā āhārāḥ sāsravās triṣu
manomayaḥ sambhavaiṣī gandharvaś cā 'ntarābhavaḥ [40]
nirvṛttiś c eha puṣṭyartham āśrayāśritayor dvayam
dvayam anyabhavākṣepanirvṛttyarthaṃ yathākramam [41]
chedasaṃdhānavairāgyahānicyutyupapattayaḥ
manovijñāna ev eṣṭā upekṣāyāṃ cyutodbhavau [42]
n aikā'grā'cittayor etau nirvāty avyākṛtadvaye
kramacyutau pādanābhihṛdayeṣu manaścyutiḥ [43]
adhonṛsuragā'jānāṃ marmacchedas tv abādibhiḥ
samyaṅmithyātvaniyatā āryānantaryakāriṇaḥ [44]

tatra bhājanalokasya saṃniveśam uśanty adhaḥ
lakṣaṣoḍaśakodvedham asaṃkhyaṃ vāyumaṇḍalam [45]
apām ekādaśodvedhaṃ sahasrāṇi ca viṃśatiḥ
aṣṭalakṣocchrayaṃ paścāc cheṣaṃ bhavati kāñcanam [46]
tiryak trīṇi sahasrāṇi sā'rdhaṃ śatacatuṣṭayam
lakṣadvādaśakaṃ caiva jalakāñcanamaṇḍalam [47]
samantatas tu triguṇaṃ tatra merur yugandharaḥ
īṣādhāraḥ khadirakaḥ sudarśanagiris tathā [48]
aśvakarṇo vinatako nimindharagiris tataḥ
dvīpā bahiś cakravāḍaḥ sapta haimāḥ sa āyasaḥ [49]
catūratnamayo merur jale 'śītisahasrake
magna ūrdhvaṃ jalān merur bhūyo 'śītisahasrakaḥ [50]
ardhā'rdhahānir aṣṭāsu samocchrayaghanāś ca te
śītāḥ saptā 'ntarāṇy eṣām ādyā 'śītisahasrikā [51]
ābhyantaraḥ samudro 'sau triguṇaḥ sa tu pārśvataḥ
ardhā'rdhenā'parāḥ sītāḥ śeṣaṃ bāhyo mahodadhiḥ [52]
lakṣatrayaṃ sahasrāṇi viṃśatir dve ca tatra tu
jambūdvīpo dvisāhasras tripārśvaḥ śakaṭākṛtiḥ [53]
sā'rdhatriyojanaṃ tv ekaṃ prāgvideho 'rdhacandravat
pārśvatrayaṃ tathā 'sy aikaṃ sā'rdhatriśatayojanam [54]
godānīyaḥ sahasrāṇi sapta sā'rdhāni maṇḍalaḥ
sā'rdhe dve madhyamasyā 'ṣṭau caturasraḥ kuruḥ samaḥ [55]
dehā videhāḥ kuravaḥ kauravāś cāmarā'varāḥ
aṣṭau tadantaradvīpāḥ śāṭhā uttaramantriṇaḥ [56]
ihottareṇa kīṭā'drinavakād dhimavāṃs tataḥ
pañcāśadvistṛtāyāmaṃ saro 'rvāg gandhamādanāt [57]
adhaḥ sahasrair viṃśatyā tanmātro 'vīcir asya hi
tadūrdhvaṃ sapta narakāḥ sarve 'ṣṭau ṣoḍaśotsadāḥ [58]
kukūlaṃ kuṇapaṃ cā 'tha kṣuramārgādikaṃ nadī
teṣāṃ caturdiśaṃ śītā anye 'ṣṭāv arbudādayaḥ [59]
ardhena meroś candrā'rkau pañcāśatsaikayojanau
ardharātro 'stagamanaṃ madhyā'hna udayaḥ sakṛt [60]
prāvṛṇmāse dvitīye 'ntyanavamyāṃ vardhate niśā
hemantānāṃ caturthe tu hīyate 'har viparyayāt [61]
lavaśo rātryaharvṛddhī dakṣiṇottarage ravau
svacchāyayā 'rkasāmīpyād vikalendusamīkṣaṇam [62]
pariṣaṇḍās catasro 'sya daśasāhasrikā'ntarāḥ
ṣoḍaśā 'ṣṭau sahasrāṇi catvāri dve ca nirgatāḥ [63]
karoṭapāṇayas tāsu mālādhārāḥ sadāmadāḥ
mahārājikadevāś ca parvateṣv api saptasu [64]
merumūrdhni trayastriṃśāḥ sa cā 'śītisahasradik
vidikṣu kūṭāś catvāra uṣitā vajrapāṇibhiḥ [65]
madhye sā'rdhadvisāhasrapārśvam adhyardhayojanam
puraṃ sudarśanaṃ nāma haimaṃ citratalaṃ mṛdu [66]
sā'rdhadviśatapārśvo 'tra vaijayanto bahiḥ punaḥ
tac caitrarathapāruṣyamiśranandanabhūṣitam [67]
viṃśatyantaritāny eṣāṃ subhūmīni caturdiśam
pūrvottare pārijātaḥ sudharmā dakṣiṇā'vare [68]
tata ūrdhvaṃ vimāneṣu devāḥ kāmabhujas tu ṣaṭ
dvandvā'liṅganapāṇyāptihasitekṣitamaithunāḥ [69]
pañcavarṣopamo yāvad daśavarṣopamaḥ śiśuḥ
sambhavaty eṣu saṃpūrṇāḥ savastrāś c aiva rūpiṇaḥ [70]

kāmopapattayas tisraḥ kāmadevāḥ samānuṣāḥ
sukhopapattayas tisro navatridhyānabhūmayaḥ [71]
sthānāt sthānād adho yāvat tāvad ūrdhvaṃ tatas tataḥ
n ordhvaṃ darśanam asty eṣām anyatra ṛddhiparāśrayāt [72]
caturdvīpakacandrā'rkamerukāmadivaukasām
brahmalokasahasraṃ ca sāhasraś cūḍiko mataḥ [73]
tatsahasraṃ dvisāhasro lokadhātus tu madhyamaḥ
tatsahasraṃ trisāhasraḥ samasaṃvartasambhavaḥ [74]
jāmbūdvīpāḥ pramāṇena catuḥsā'rdhatrihastakāḥ
dviguṇottaravṛddhyā tu purvagodottarā'hvayāḥ [75]
pādavṛddhyā tanur yāvat sā'rdhakrośo divaukasām
kāmināṃ rūpiṇāṃ tv ādau yojanā'rdhaṃ tataḥ param [76]
ardhā'rdhavṛddhir ūrdhvaṃ tu parīttābhebhya āśrayaḥ
dviguṇadviguṇo hitvā 'nabhrakebhyas triyojanam [77]
sahasram āyuḥ kuruṣu dvayor ardhā'rdhavarjitam
ihā 'niyatam antye tu daśābdān ādito 'mitam [78]
nṛṇāṃ varṣāṇi pañcāśad ahorātro divaukasām
kāme 'dharāṇāṃ ten āyuḥ pañca varṣaśatāni tu [79]
dviguṇottaram ūrdhvānāṃ ubhayaṃ rūpiṇāṃ punaḥ
nā 'sty ahorātram āyus tu kalpaiḥ svāśrayasaṃmitaiḥ [80]
ārūpye viṃśatiḥ kalpasahasrāṇy adhikā'dhikam
mahākalpaḥ parīttābhāt prabhṛty ardham adhas tataḥ [81]
kāmadevāyuṣā tulyā ahorātrā yathākramam
saṃjīvādiṣu ṣaṭsv āyus tais teṣāṃ kāmadevavat [82]
ardhaṃ pratāpane 'vīcāv antaḥkalpaṃ paraṃ punaḥ
kalpaṃ tiraścāṃ pretānāṃ māsā'hnā śatapañcakam [83]
vāhād varṣaśaten aikatiloddhārakṣayāyuṣaḥ
arbudā viṃśatiguṇaprativṛddhāyuṣaḥ pare [84]
kuruvarjyo 'ntarāmṛtyuḥ paramāṇvakṣarakṣaṇāḥ
rūpanāmā'dhvaparyantāḥ paramāṇur aṇus tathā [85]
lohā'pchaśāvigochidrarajolikṣātadudbhavāḥ
yavas tathā 'ṅgulīparva jñeyaṃ saptaguṇottaram [86]
caturviṃśatir aṅgulyo hasto hastacatuṣṭayam
dhanuḥ pañca śatāny eṣāṃ krośo 'raṇyaṃ ca tan matam [87]
te 'ṣṭau yojanam ity āhur viṃśaṃ kṣaṇaśataṃ punaḥ
tatkṣaṇas te punaḥ ṣaṣṭir lavas triṃśadguṇottarāḥ [88]
trayo muhūrtā'horātramāsā dvādaśamāsakaḥ
saṃvatsaraḥ sonarātraḥ kalpo bahuvidhaḥ smṛtaḥ [89]
saṃvartakalpo narakā'sambhavād bhājanakṣayaḥ
vivartakalpaḥ prāgvāyor yāvan nārakasambhavaḥ [90]
antaḥkalpo 'mitād yāvad daśavarṣāyuṣas tataḥ
utkarṣā apakarṣāś ca kalpā aṣṭādaśā 'pare [91]
utkarṣa ekas te 'śītisahasrād yāvad āyuṣaḥ
iti loko vivṛtto 'yaṃ kalpāns tiṣṭhati viṃśatim [92]
vivartate 'tha saṃvṛtta āste saṃvartate samam
te hy aśītir mahākalpas tadasaṃkhyatrayodbhavam [93]
buddhatvam apakarṣe tu śatād yāvat tadudbhavaḥ
dvayoḥ pratyekabuddhānāṃ khaḍgaḥ kalpaśatānvayaḥ [94]
cakravartisamutpattir nā 'dho 'śītisahasrakāt
suvarṇarūpyatāmrā'yaścakriṇas te 'dharakramāt [95]
ekadvitricaturdvīpā na ca dvau saha buddhavat
pratyudyānasvayaṃyānakalahāstrajito 'vadhāḥ [96]

deśasthottaptapūrṇatvair lakṣaṇātiśayo muneḥ
prāg āsan rūpivat sattvā rasarāgāt tataḥ śanaiḥ [97]
ālasyāt saṃnidhiṃ kṛtvā sāgrahaiḥ kṣetrapo bhṛtaḥ
tataḥ karmapathādhikyād apahrāse daśāyuṣaḥ [98]
kalpasya śastrarogābhyāṃ durbhikṣeṇa ca nirgamaḥ
divasān sapta māsāṅś ca varṣāṇi ca yathākramam [99]
saṃvartanyaḥ punas tisro bhavanty agnyambuvāyubhiḥ
dhyānatrayaṃ dvitīyādi śīrṣaṃ tāsāṃ yathākramam [100]
tadapakṣālasādharmyān na caturthe 'sty aniñjanāt
na nityaṃ saha sattvena tadvimānodayavyayāt [101]
saptā'gninā 'dbhir ek aivaṃ gate 'dbhiḥ saptake punaḥ
tejasā saptakaḥ paścād vāyusaṃvartanī tataḥ [102]

lokanirdeśo nāma tṛtīyaṃ kośasthānam

IV

karmajaṃ lokavaicitryaṃ cetanā tatkṛtaṃ ca tat
cetanā mānasaṃ karma tajje vākkāyakarmaṇī [1]
te tu vijñaptyavijñaptī kāyavijñaptir iṣyate
saṃsthānaṃ na gatir yasmāt saṃskṛtaṃ kṣaṇikaṃ vyayāt [2]
na kasyacid ahetoḥ syād dhetuḥ syāc ca vināśakaḥ
dvigrāhyaṃ syān na cā 'ṇau tad vāgvijñaptis tu vāgdhvaniḥ [3]
trividhāmalarūpoktivṛddhyakurvatpathādibhiḥ
kṣaṇād ūrdhvam avijñaptiḥ kāmāptā'tītabhūtajā [4]
svāni bhūtāny upādāya kāyavākkarma sāsravam
anāsravaṃ yatra jāto 'vijñaptir anupāttikā [5]
naiṣyandikī ca sattvākhyā niṣyandopāttabhūtajā
samādhij aupacayikā'nupāttā'bhinnabhūtajā [6]
nā 'vyākṛtā 'sty avijñaptis tridhā 'nyad aśubhaṃ punaḥ
kāme rūpe 'py avijñaptir vijñaptiḥ savicārayoḥ [7]
kāme 'pi nivṛtā nā 'sti samutthānam asad yataḥ
paramārthaśubho mokṣaḥ svato mūlahryapatrapā [8]
samprayogeṇa tadyuktāḥ samutthānāt kriyādayaḥ
viparyayeṇā 'kuśalaṃ paramā'vyākṛte dhruve [9]
samutthānaṃ dvidhā hetutatkṣaṇotthānasaṃjñitam
pravartakaṃ tayor ādyaṃ dvitīyam anuvartakam [10]
pravartakaṃ dṛṣṭiheyaṃ vijñānam ubhayaṃ punaḥ
mānasaṃ bhāvanāheyaṃ pañcakaṃ tv anuvartakam [11]
pravartake śubhādau hi syāt tridhā 'py anuvartakam
tulyaṃ muneḥ śubhaṃ vā 'rthaṃ n obhayaṃ tu vipākajam [12]
avijñaptis tridhā jñeyā saṃvarā'saṃvaretarā
saṃvaraḥ prātimokṣākhyo dhyānajo 'nāsravas tathā [13]
aṣṭadhā prātimokṣākhyo dravyatas tu caturvidhaḥ
liṅgato nāmasaṃcārāt pṛthak te cā 'virodhinaḥ [14]
pañcā'ṣṭadaśasarvebhyo varjyebhyo viratigrahāt
upāsakopavāsasthaśramaṇoddeśabhikṣutā [15]
śīlaṃ sucaritaṃ karma saṃvaraś c ocyate punaḥ
ādye vijñaptyavijñaptī prātimokṣaḥ kriyāpathaḥ [16]
prātimokṣā'nvitā cā 'ṣṭau dhyānajena tadanvitaḥ
anāsraveṇ āryasattvā antyau cittā'nuvartinau [17]
anāgamye prahāṇākhyau tāv ānantaryamārgajau
samprajñānasmṛtī dve tu manaindriyasaṃvarau [18]

prātimokṣasthito nityam ātyāgāt vartamānayā
avijñaptyā 'nvitaḥ pūrvāt kṣaṇād ūrdhvam atītayā [19]
tath aivā 'saṃvarastho 'pi dhyānasaṃvaravān sadā
atītā'jātay āryas tu prathamo nā 'bhyatītayā [20]
samāhitāryamārgasthau tau yuktau vartamānayā
madhyasthasyā 'sti ced ādaumadhyayor dvandvikālayā [21]
asaṃvarasthaḥ śubhayā 'śubhayā saṃvaro sthitaḥ
avijñaptyā 'nvito yāvat prasādakleśavegavān [22]
vijñaptyā tu yutāḥ sarve kurvantām avyayā'nvitāḥ
atītayā kṣaṇād ūrdhvam ātyāgān nā 'sty ajātayā [23]
nivṛtā'nivṛtābhyāṃ ca nā 'tītābhyāṃ samanvitaḥ
asaṃvaro duścaritaṃ dauḥśīlyaṃ karma tatpathaḥ [24]
vijñapty aivā 'nvitaḥ kurvan madhyastho mṛducetanaḥ
tyaktā'nutpannavijñaptir avijñapty āryapudgalaḥ [25]
dhyānajo dhyānabhūmy aiva labhyate 'nāsravas tayā
āryayā prātimokṣākhyaḥ paravijñāpanādibhiḥ [26]
yāvajjīvaṃ samādānam ahorātraṃ ca saṃvṛteḥ
nā 'saṃvaro 'sty ahorātraṃ na kil aivaṃ sa gṛhyate [27]
kālyaṃ grāhyo 'nyato nīcaiḥ sthiteu oktā'nuvādinā
upavāsaḥ samagrā'ṅgo nirbhūṣeṇ āniśākṣayāt [28]
śīlā'ṅgāny apramādā'ṅgaṃ vratā'ṅgāni yathākramam
catvāry ekaṃ tathā trīṇi smṛtināśo madaś ca taiḥ [29]
anyasyā 'py upavāso 'sti śaraṇaṃ tv agatasya na
upāsakatvopagamāt saṃvṛd uktis tu bhikṣuvat [30]
sarve cet saṃvṛtā ekadeśakāryādayaḥ katham
tatpālanāt kila proktā mṛdvāditvaṃ yathā manaḥ [31]
buddhasaṃghakarān dharmān aśaikṣān ubhayāṃś ca saḥ
nirvāṇaṃ c aiti śaraṇaṃ yo yāti śaraṇatrayam [32]
mithyācārā'tigarhyatvāt saukaryād akriyāptitaḥ
yathā'bhyupagamaṃ lābhaḥ saṃvarasya na saṃtateḥ [33]
mṛṣāvādaprasaṃgāc ca sarvaśikṣā'bhyatikrame
pratikṣepaṇasā'vadyān mādyād evā 'nyaguptaye [34]
sarvebhayebhyaḥ kāmāpto vartamānebhya āpyate
maulebhyaḥ sarvakālebhyo dhyānā'nāsravasaṃvarau [35]
saṃvaraḥ sarvasattvebhyo vibhāṣā tv aṅgakāraṇaiḥ
asaṃvaras tu sarvebhyaḥ sarvā'ṅgebhyo na kāraṇaiḥ [36]
asaṃvarasyā 'kriyayā lābho 'bhyupagamena vā
śeṣā'vijñaptilābhas tu kṣetrādānādarehanāt [37]
pratimokṣadamatyāgaḥ śikṣānikṣepaṇāc cyuteḥ
ubhayavyañjanotpatter mūlacchedān niśā'tyayāt [38]
patanīyena c ety eke saddharmā'ntardhito 'paro
dhanarṇavat tu kāśmīrair āpannasy eṣyate dvayam [39]
bhūmisaṃcārahānibhyāṃ dhyānāptaṃ tyajyate śubham
tath ārūpyāptam āryaṃ tu phalāptyuttaptihānibhiḥ [40]
asaṃvaraḥ saṃvarāptimṛtyudvivyañjanodayaiḥ
vegādānakriyā'rthāyurmūlacchedais tu madhyamā [41]
kāmāptaṃ kuśalā'rūpaṃ mūlacchedordhvajanmataḥ
pratipakṣodayāt kliṣṭam arūpaṃ tu vihīyate [42]
nṛṇām asaṃvaro hitvā ṣaṇḍhapaṇḍadvidhākṛtīn
kurūṇś ca saṃvaro 'py evaṃ devānāṃ ca nṛṇāṃ trayaḥ [43]
kāmarūpajadevānāṃ dhyānajo 'nāsravaḥ punaḥ
dhyānā'ntarā'saṃjñisattvavarjyānāṃ apy arūpiṇām [44]

kṣemā'kṣemetarat karma kuśalā'kuśaletarat
puṇyā'puṇyam aniñjyaṃ ca sukhavedyādi ca trayam [45]
kāmadhātau śubhaṃ karma puṇyam āniñjyam ūrdhvajam
tadbhūmiṣu yataḥ karma vipākaṃ prati n eñjati [46]
sukhavedyaṃ śubhaṃ dhyānād ātṛtīyād ataḥ param
aduḥkhā'sukhavedyaṃ tu duḥkhavedyam ihā 'śubham [47]
adho 'pi madhyam asty eke dhyānā'ntaravipākataḥ
apūrvā'caramaḥ pākas trayāṇāṃ c eṣyate yataḥ [48]
svabhāvasaṃprayogābhyām ālambanavipākataḥ
saṃmukhībhāvataś c eti pañcadhā vedanīyatā [49]
niyatā'niyataṃ tac ca niyataṃ trividhaṃ punaḥ
dṛṣṭadharmādivedyatvāt pañcadhā karma ke cana [50]
catuṣkoṭikam ity anye nikāyākṣepaṇaṃ tribhiḥ
sarvatra caturākṣepaḥ śubhasya narake tridhā [51]
yadviraktaḥ sthiro bālas tatra n otpadyavedyakṛt
nā 'nyavedyakṛd apy āryaḥ kāmā'gre vā 'sthiro 'pi na [52]
dvāviṃśatividhaṃ kāmeṣv ākṣipaty antarābhavaḥ
dṛṣṭadharmaphalaṃ tac ca nikāyo hy eka eva saḥ [53]
tīvrakleśaprasādena mātṛghnena ca yat kṛtam
guṇakṣetre ca niyataṃ tat pitror ghātakaṃ ca yat [54]
dṛṣṭadharmaphalaṃ karma kṣetrāśayaviśeṣataḥ
tadbhūmyatyantavairāgyād vipāke niyataṃ hi yat [55]
ye nirodhā'raṇāmaitrīdarśanā'rhatphalotthitāḥ
teṣu kārā'pakārasya phalaṃ sadyo 'nubhūyate [56]
kuśalasyā 'vitarkasya karmaṇo vedanā matā
vipākaś caitasiky eva kāyiky evā 'śubhasya tu [57]
cittakṣepo manaścitte sa ca karmavipākajaḥ
bhayopaghātavaiṣamyaśokaiś cā 'kurukāmiṇām [58]
vaṅkadoṣakaṣāyoktiḥ śāṭhyadveṣajarāgaje
kṛṣṇaśuklādibhedena punaḥ karma caturvidham [59]
aśubhaṃ rūpakāmāptaṃ śubhaṃ c aiva yathākramam
kṛṣṇaśuklobhayaṃ karma tatkṣayāya nirāsravam [60]
dharmakṣāntiṣu vairāgye c ānantaryapathā'ṣṭake
yā cetanā dvādaśadhā karma kṛṣṇakṣayāya tat [61]
navame cetanā yā sā kṛṣṇaśuklakṣayāya ca
śuklasya dhyānavairāgyeṣv antyānantaryamārgajā [62]
anye narakavedyā'nyakāmavedyaṃ dvayaṃ viduḥ
dṛggheyaṃ kṛṣṇam anye 'nyat kṛṣṇaśuklaṃ tu kāmajam [63]
aśaikṣaṃ kāyavākkarma manaś c aiva yathākramam
maunatrayaṃ tridhā śaucaṃ sarvaṃ sucaritatrayam [64]
aśubhaṃ kāyakarmādi mataṃ duścaritaṃ trayam
akarmā 'pi tv abhidhyādi manoduścaritaṃ tridhā [65]
viparyayāt sucaritaṃ tadaudārikasaṃgrahāt
daśa karmapathā uktā yathāyogaṃ śubhā'śubhāḥ [66]
aśubhāḥ ṣaḍ avijñaptir dvidhā aikas te 'pi kurvataḥ
dvividhāḥ sapta kuśalā avijñaptiḥ samādhijāḥ [67]
sāmantakās tu vijñaptir avijñaptir bhaven na vā
viparyayeṇa pṛṣṭhāni prayogas tu trimūlajaḥ [68]
tadanantarasambhūter abhidhyādyās trimūlajāḥ
kuśalāḥ saprayogā'ntā alobhadveṣamohajāḥ [69]
vadhavyāpādapāruṣyaniṣṭhā dveṣeṇa lobhataḥ
parastrīgamanā'bhidhyā'dattādānasamāpanam [70]

mithyādṛṣṭes tu mohena śeṣāṇāṃ tribhir iṣyate
sattvabhogāv adhiṣṭhānaṃ nāmarūpaṃ ca nāma ca [71]
samaṃ prāk ca mṛtasyā 'sti na maulo 'nyāśrayodayāt
senādeś c aikakāryatvāt sarvakartṛvad asti saḥ [72]
prāṇā'tipātaḥ saṃcintya parasyā 'bhrāntimāraṇam
adattādānam anyasvasvīkriyā balacauryataḥ [73]
agamyāgamanaṃ kāmamithyācāraś caturvidhaḥ
anyasaṃjñoditaṃ vākyam arthā'bhijñe mṛṣāvacaḥ [74]
cakṣuśrotramanovijñānā'nubhūtaṃ tribhiś ca yat
tad dṛṣṭaśrutavijñātamataṃ c oktaṃ yathākramam [75]
paiśunyaṃ kliṣṭacittasya vacanaṃ parabhedane
pāruṣyam apriyaṃ sarvaṃ kliṣṭasaṃbhinnalāpitā [76]
ato 'nyat kliṣṭam ity anye lapanāgītanāṭyavat
kuśāstravac cā 'bhidhyā tu parasvaviṣamaspṛhā [77]
vyāpādaḥ sattvavidveṣo nā'stidṛṣṭiḥ śubhā'śubhe
mithyādṛṣṭis trayo hy atra panthānaḥ sapta karma ca [78]
mūlacchedaś chedadṛṣṭyā kāmāptotpattilābhikaḥ
phalahetūpavādinyā sarvayā kramaśo nṛṣu [79]
chinatti strī pumān dṛṣṭicaritaḥ so 'samanvayaḥ
saṃdhiḥ kāṅkṣā'stidṛṣṭeḥ syān n eh ānantaryakāriṇaḥ [80]
yugapad yāvad aṣṭābhir aśubhaiḥ saha vartate
cetanā daśabhir yāvac chubhair n aikā'ṣṭapañcabhiḥ [81]
saṃbhinnālāpapāruṣyavyāpādā narake dvidhā
samanvāgamato 'bhidhyāmithyādṛṣṭī kurau trayaḥ [82]
saptamaḥ svayam apy atra kāme 'nyatra daśā'śubhāḥ
śubhās trayas tu sarvatra saṃmukhībhūtalābhataḥ [83]
ārūpyā'saṃjñisattveṣu lābhataḥ sapta śeṣite
saṃmukhībhāvataś cā 'pi hitvā sanarakān kurūn [84]
sarve 'dhipatiniṣyandavipākaphaladā matāḥ
duḥkhanān māraṇād ojonāśanāt trividhaṃ phalam [85]
lobhajaṃ kāyavākkarma mithyājīvaḥ pṛthakkṛtaḥ
duḥśodhatvāt pariṣkāralābhotthaṃ cen na sūtrataḥ [86]
prahāṇamārge samale saphalaṃ karma pañcabhiḥ
caturbhir amale 'nyac ca sāsravaṃ yac chubhā'śubham [87]
anāsravaṃ punaḥ śeṣam tribhir avyākṛtaṃ ca yat
catvāri dve tathā trīṇi kuśalasya śubhā'dayaḥ [88]
aśubhasya śubhādyā dve trīṇi catvāry anukramam
avyākṛtasya dve trīṇi trīṇi c aite śubhādayaḥ [89]
sarve 'tītasya catvāri madhyamasyā 'py anāgatāḥ
madhyamā dve ajātasya phalāni trīṇy anāgatāḥ [90]
svabhūmikasya catvāri trīṇi dve cā 'nyabhūmikāḥ
śaikṣasya trīṇi śaikṣādyā aśaikṣasya tu karmaṇaḥ [91]
dharmāḥ śaikṣādikā ekaṃ phalaṃ trīṇy api ca dvayam
tābhyām anyasya śaikṣādyā dve dve pañca phalāni ca [92]
trīṇi catvāri c aikaṃ ca dṛgheyasya tadādayaḥ
te dve catvāry atha trīṇi bhāvanāheyakarmaṇaḥ [93]
apraheyasya te tv ekaṃ dve catvāri yathākramam
ayogavihitaṃ kliṣṭaṃ vidhibhraṣṭam ca ke cana [94]
ekaṃ janm ākṣipaty ekam anekaṃ paripūrakam
n ākṣepike samāpattī acitte prāptayo na ca [95]
ānantaryāṇi karmāṇi tīvrakleśo 'tha durgatiḥ
kauravā'saṃjñisattvāś ca matam āvaraṇatrayam [96]

triṣu dvīpeṣv anantaryaṃ ṣaṇḍhādīnāṃ tu n eṣyate
alpopakārā'lajjitvāc cheṣe gatiṣu pañcasu [97]
saṃghabhedas tv asāmagrīsvabhāvo viprayuktakaḥ
akliṣṭā'vyākṛto dharmaḥ saṃghas tena samanvitaḥ [98]
tadavadyaṃ mṛṣāvādas tena bhettā samanvitaḥ
avīcau pacyate kalpam adhikair adhikā rujaḥ [99]
bhikṣur dṛkcarito vṛttī bhinatty anyatra bāliśān
śāstṛmārgā'ntarakṣānto bhinno na vivasaty asau [100]
cakrabhedaḥ sa ca mato jambūdvīpe navādibhiḥ
karmabhedas triṣu dvīpeṣv aṣṭābhir adhikaiś ca saḥ [101]
ādāv ante 'rbudāt pūrvaṃ yugāc c oparate munau
sīmāyāṃ cā 'py abaddhāyāṃ cakrabhedo na jāyate [102]
upakāriguṇakṣetranirākṛtivipādanāt
vyañjanā'ntarito 'pi syān mātā yacchoṇitodbhavaḥ [103]
buddhe na tāḍanecchasya prahārān n ordhvam arhati
n ānantaryaprayuktasya vairāgyaphalasambhavaḥ [104]
saṃghabhedamṛṣāvādo mahā'vadyatamo mataḥ
bhavā'gracetanā loke mahāphalatamā śubhe [105]
dūṣaṇaṃ mātur arhantyā niyatisthasya māraṇam
bodhisattvasya śaikṣasya saṃghāyadvārahārikā [106]
ānantaryasabhāgāni pañcamaṃ stūpabhedanam
kṣāntyanāgāmitā'rhattvaprāptau karmā'tivighnakṛt [107]
bodhisattvaḥ kuto yāvad yato lakṣaṇakarmakṛt
sugatiḥ kulajo 'dhyakṣaḥ pumān jātismaro 'nivṛt [108]
jambūdvīpe pumān eva sammukhaṃ buddhacetanaḥ
cintāmayaṃ kalpaśate śeṣa ākṣipate hi tat [109]
ekaikaṃ puṇyaśatajam asaṃkhyeyatrayā'ntajāḥ
vipaśyī dīpakṛd ratnaśikhī śākyamuniḥ purā [110]
sarvatra sarvaṃ dadataḥ kāruṇyād dānapūraṇam
aṅgacchede 'py akopāt tu rāgiṇaḥ kṣāntiśīlayoḥ [111]
tiṣyastotreṇa vīryasya dhīsamādhyor anantaram
puṇyaṃ kriyā 'tha tadvastu trayaṃ karmapathā yathā [112]
dīyate yena tad dānaṃ pūjā'nugrahakāmyayā
kāyavākkarma sotthānaṃ mahābhogyaphalaṃ ca tat [113]
svaparā'rthobhayā'rthāya nobhayā'rthāya dīyate
tadviśeṣaḥ punar dātṛvastukṣetraviśeṣataḥ [114]
dātā viśiṣṭaḥ śraddhādyaiḥ satkṛtyādi dadāty ataḥ
satkārodāraruoitākālā'nācchidyalābhitā [115]
varṇādisampadā vastu surūpatvaṃ yaśasvitā
priyatā sukumārartusukhasparśā'ṅgatā tataḥ [116]
gatiduḥkhopakāritvaguṇaiḥ kṣetraṃ viśiṣyate
agryaṃ muktasya muktāya bodhisattvasya cā 'ṣṭamam [117]
mātāpitṛglānadharmakathikebhyo 'ntyajanmane
bodhisattvāya cā 'meyā anāryebhyo 'pi dakṣiṇāḥ [118]
pṛṣṭhaṃ kṣetram adhiṣṭhānaṃ prayogaś cetan āśayaḥ
eṣāṃ mṛdvadhimātratvāt karmamṛdvadhimātratā [119]
saṃcetanasamāptibhyāṃ niḥkaukṛtyavipakṣataḥ
parivāravipākāc ca karmopacitam ucyate [120]
caitye tyāgā'nvayaṃ puṇyaṃ maitryādivad agṛhṇati
kukṣetre 'p iṣṭaphalatā phalabījaviparyayāt [121]
dauḥśīlyam aśubhaṃ *rūpaṃ* śīlaṃ tadviratir dvidhā
pratikṣiptāc ca buddhena viśuddhaṃ tu caturguṇam [122]

dauḥśīlyataddhetvahataṃ tadvipakṣasamāśritam
samāhitaṃ tu kuśalaṃ bhāvanā cittavāsanāt [123]
svargāya śīlaṃ prādhānyād visaṃyogāya bhāvanā
caturṇāṃ brāhmapuṇyatvaṃ kalpaṃ svargeṣu modanāt [124]
dharmadānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ sūtrādyakliṣṭadeśanā
puṇyanirvāṇanirvedhabhāgīyaṃ kuśalaṃ tridhā [125]
yogapravartitaṃ karma sasamutthāpakaṃ tridhā
lipimudre sagaṇanaṃ kāvyaṃ saṃkhyā yathākramaṃ [126]
sā'vadyā nivṛtā hīnāḥ kliṣṭā dharmāḥ śubhā'malāḥ
praṇītāḥ saṃskṛtaśubhāḥ sevyā mokṣas tv anuttaraḥ [127]

karmanirdeśo nāma caturthaṃ kośasthānam

V

mūlaṃ bhavasyā 'nuśayāḥ ṣaḍ rāgaḥ pratighas tathā
māno 'vidyā ca dṛṣṭiś ca vicikitsā ca teṣu naḥ [1]
ṣaḍ rāgabhedāḥ sapt oktā bhavarāgo dvidhātujaḥ
antarmukhatvāt tanmokṣasaṃjñāvyāvṛttaye kṛtaḥ [2]
dṛṣṭayaḥ pañca satkāyamithyā'ntagrāhadṛṣṭayaḥ
dṛṣṭiśīlavrataparāmarśāv iti punar daśa [3]
daś aite sapta saptā 'ṣṭau tridvidṛṣṭivivarjitāḥ
yathākramaṃ prahīyante kāme duḥkhādida*rśanaiḥ* [4]
catvāro bhāvanāheyās ta evā 'pratighāḥ punaḥ
rūpadhātau tath ārūpya ity ṣṭānavatir matāḥ [5]
bhavā'grajāḥ kṣāntivadhyā dṛggheyā eva śeṣajāḥ
dṛgbhāvanābhyām akṣāntivadhyā bhāvanay aiva tu [6]
ātmātmīyadhruvocchedanā'stihīnā'gradṛṣṭayaḥ
ahetvamārgo taddṛṣṭir etās tāḥ pañca dṛṣṭayaḥ [7]
īśvarādiṣu nityātmaviparyāsāt pravartate
kāraṇā'bhiniveśo 'to duḥkhadṛggheya eva saḥ [8]
dṛṣṭitrayād viparyāsacatuṣkaṃ viparītataḥ
nitīraṇāt samāropāt saṃjñācitte tu tadvaśāt [9]
sapta mānā nava vidhās tribhyo dṛgbhāvanākṣayāḥ
vadhādiparyavasthānaṃ heyaṃ bhāvanayā tathā [10]
vibhavecchā na c āryasya sambhavanti vidhādayaḥ
nā 'smitādṛṣṭipuṣṭatvāt kaukṛtyaṃ nā 'pi *cā 'śubham* [11]
sarvatragā duḥkhahetudṛggheyā dṛṣṭayas tathā
dvimatiḥ saha tābhiś ca yā 'vidy āveṇikī ca yā [12]
nav ordhvālambanā eṣāṃ dṛṣṭidvayavivarjitāḥ
prāptivarjyāḥ sahabhuvo ye 'py *ebhis te 'pi sarvagāḥ* [13]
mithyādṛgvimatī tābhyāṃ yuktā 'vidyā 'tha kevalā
nirodhamārgadṛggheyāḥ ṣaḍ anāsravagocarāḥ [14]
svabhūmyuparamo mārgaḥ ṣaḍbhūminavabhūmikaḥ
tadgocarāṇāṃ *viṣayo mārgo hy anyonyahetukaḥ* [15]
na rāgas tasya varjyatvān na dveṣo 'napakārataḥ
na māno na parāmarśau śāntaśuddhyagrabhāvataḥ [16]
sarvatragā anuśayāḥ sakalām anuśerate
svabhūmim ālambanataḥ svanikāyam asarvagāḥ [17]
nā 'nāsravordhvaviṣayā asvīkārād vipakṣataḥ
yena yaḥ saṃprayuktas tu sa tasmin saṃprayogataḥ [18]
ūrdhvam avyākṛtāḥ sarve kāme satkāyadarśanam
antagrāhaḥ sah ābhyāṃ ca mohaḥ śeṣās tv ihā 'śubhāḥ [19]

kāme 'kuśalamūlāni rāgapratighamūḍhayaḥ
trīṇy avyākṛtamūlāni tṛṣṇā 'vidyā matiś ca sā [20]
dvaidhordhvavṛtter nā 'to 'nyau catvāry ev eti bāhyakāḥ
tṛṣṇādṛgmānamohās te dhyāyitritvād avidyayā [21]
ekāṃśato vyākaraṇaṃ vibhajya paripṛcchya ca
sthāpyaṃ ca maraṇotpattiviśiṣṭātmā'nyatādivat [22]
rāgapratighamānaiḥ syād atītapratyupasthitaiḥ
yatr otpannā'prahīṇās te tasmin vastuni saṃyutaḥ [23]
sarvartā 'nāgatair ebhir mānasaiḥ sā'dhviko paraiḥ
ajaiḥ sarvatra śeṣais tu sarvaiḥ sarvatra saṃyutaḥ [24]
sarvakālā'sti uktitvād dvayāt sadviṣayāt phalāt
tadastivādāt sarvā'stivādā iṣṭāś caturvidhāḥ [25]
te bhāvalakṣaṇā'vasthā'nyathā'nyathikasaṃjñitāḥ
tṛtīyaḥ śobhano 'dhvānaḥ kāritreṇa vyavasthitāḥ [26]
kiṃ vighnakṛt kathaṃ nā 'nyad adhvā'yogas tathā mataḥ
ajātanaṣṭatā kena gambhīrā jātu dharmatā [27]
prahīṇe duḥkhadṛggheye saṃyuktaḥ śeṣasarvagaiḥ
prākprahīṇe prakāraiś ca śeṣais tadviṣayair malaiḥ [28]
duḥkhahetudṛgabhyāsaproheyāḥ kāmadhātujāḥ
svakatrayaikarūpāptā'malavijñānagocarāḥ [29]
svakā'dharatrayordhvaikā'malānāṃ rūpadhātujāḥ
ārūpyajās tridhātvāptatrayā'nāsravagocarāḥ [30]
nirodhamārgadṛggheyāḥ sarve svā'dhikagocarāḥ
anāsravās tridhātvantyatrayā'nāsravagocarāḥ [31]
duḥkhahetudṛgabhyāsaheyā dhātutraye 'malāḥ
pañcā'ṣṭadaśavijñānadaśavijñānagocarāḥ [32]
dvidhā sā'nuśayaṃ kliṣṭam akliṣṭam anuśāyakaiḥ
mohāt kāṅkṣā tato mithyādṛṣṭiḥ satkāyadṛk tataḥ [33]
tato 'ntagrahaṇaṃ tasmāc chīlā'marśas tato dṛśaḥ
rāgaḥ svadṛṣṭau mānaś ca dveṣo 'nyatr ety anukramaḥ [34]
aprahīṇād anuśayād viṣayāt pratyupasthitāt
ayoniśomanaskārāt kleśaḥ saṃpūrṇakāraṇaḥ [35]
kāme saparyavasthānāḥ kleśāḥ kāmāsravā vinā
mohenā 'nuśayā eva rūpārūpye bhavāsravaḥ [36]
avyākṛtā'ntarmukhā hi te samāhitabhūmikāḥ
ata ekīkṛtā mūlam avidy ety āsravaḥ pṛthak [37]
tath aughayogād dṛṣṭīnāṃ pṛthagbhāvas tu pāṭavāt
n āsraveṣv asahāyānāṃ na kilā 'syā 'nukūlatā [38]
yathoktā eva sā'vidyā dvidhā dṛṣṭivivecanāt
upādānāny avidyā tu grāhikā n eti miśritā [39]
aṇavo 'nugatāś c aite dvidhā cā 'py anuśerate
anubadhnanti yasmāc ca tasmād anuśayā matāḥ [40]
āsayanty āsravanty ete haranti śleṣayanty atha
upagṛhṇanti c ety eṣām āsravādi niruktayaḥ [41]
saṃyojanādibhedena punas te pañcadh oditāḥ
dravyāmarśanasāmānyād dṛṣṭī saṃyojanā'ntaram [42]
ekāntā'kuśalaṃ yasmāt svatantraṃ c obhayaṃ yataḥ
īrṣyāmātsaryam eṣ ūktaṃ pṛthak saṃyojanadvayam [43]
pañcadhā 'varabhāgīyaṃ dvābhyāṃ kāmā'natikramaḥ
tribhis tu punarāvṛttir mukhamūlagrahāt trayam [44]
agantukā matā mārgavibhramo mārgasaṃśayaḥ
ity antarāyā mokṣasya gamane 'tas trideśanā [45]

pañcadh aiv ordhvabhāgīyam dvau rāgau rūpyarūpijau
auddhatyamānamohāś ca vidvaśād bandhanatrayam [46]
ye 'py anye caitasāḥ kliṣṭāḥ saṃskāraskandhasaṃjñitāḥ
kleśebhyas te 'py upakleśās te tu na kleśasaṃjñitāḥ [47]
āhrīkyam anapatrāpyam īrṣyā mātsaryam uddhavaḥ
kaukṛtyaṃ styānamiddhaṃ ca paryavasthānam aṣṭadhā [48]
krodhamrakṣau ca rāgotthā āhrīkyauddhatyamatsarāḥ
mrakṣe vivādo 'vidyātaḥ styānamiddhā'napatrapāḥ [49]
kaukṛtyaṃ vicikitsātaḥ krodherṣye pratighā'nvaye
anye ca ṣaṭ kleśamalā māyā śāṭhyaṃ madas tathā [50]
pradāśa upanāhaś ca vihiṃsā c eti rāgajau
māyāmadau pratighajo upanāhavihiṃsane [51]
dṛṣṭyāmarśāt pradāśas tu śāṭhyaṃ dṛṣṭisamutthitam
tatr āhrīkyā'napatrāpyastyānamiddhoddhavā dvidhā [52]
tadanye bhāvanāheyāḥ svatantrāś ca tathā malāḥ
kāme 'śubhās trayo dve vā pareṇā 'vyākṛtās tataḥ [53]
māyā śāṭhyaṃ ca kāmādyadhyānayor brahmavañcanāt
styānauddhatyamadā dhātutrayo 'nye kāmadhātujāḥ [54]
samānamiddhā dṛggheyā manovijñānabhūmikāḥ
upakleśāḥ svatantrāś ca ṣaḍvijñānāśrayāḥ paro [55]
sukhābhyāṃ saṃprayukto hi rāgo dveṣo viparyayāt
mohaḥ sarvair asaddṛṣṭir manoduḥkhasukhena tu [56]
daurmanasyena kāṅkṣā 'nye saumanasyena kāmajāḥ
sarve 'py upekṣayā svaiḥ svair yathābhūmy ūrdhvabhūmikāḥ [57]
daurmanasyena kaukṛtyam īrṣyā krodho vihiṃsanam
upanāhaḥ pradāśaś ca mātsaryaṃ tu viparyayāt [58]
māyā śāṭhyam atho mrakṣo middhaṃ c obhayathā madaḥ
sukhābhyāṃ sarvag opekṣā catvāry anyāni pañcabhiḥ [59]
kāme nīvaraṇāny ekavipakṣāhārakṛtyataḥ
dvyekatāpañcatāskandhavighātavicikitsanāt [60]
ālambanaparijñānāt tadālambanasaṃkṣayāt
ālambanaprahāṇāc ca pratipakṣodayāt kṣayaḥ [61]
prahāṇādhāradūratvadūṣaṇākhyaś caturvidhaḥ
pratipakṣaḥ prahātavyaḥ kleśa ālambanān mataḥ [62]
vailakṣaṇyād vipakṣatvād deśavicchedakālataḥ
bhūtaśīlapradeśā'dhvadvayānām iva dūratā [63]
sakṛt kṣayo visaṃyogalābhas tv eṣāṃ punaḥ punaḥ
pratipakṣodayaphalaprāptīndriyavivṛddhiṣu [64]
parijñā nava kāmādyaprakāradvayasaṃkṣayaḥ
ekā dvayoḥ kṣayo dve te tath ordhvaṃ tisra eva tāḥ [65]
anyā avarabhāgīyarūpasarvāsravakṣayāḥ
tisraḥ parijñāḥ ṣaṭ kṣāntiphalaṃ jñānasya śeṣitāḥ [66]
anāgamyaphalaṃ sarvā dhyānānāṃ pañca vā 'tha vā
aṣṭau sāmantakasy aikā maulārūpyatrayasya ca [67]
āryamārgasya sarvā dve laukikasyā 'nvayasya ca
dharmajñānasya tisras tu ṣaṭ tatpakṣasya pañca ca [68]
anāsravaviyogāpter bhavā'gravikalīkṛteḥ
hetudvayasamudghātāt parijñā dhātvatikramāt [69]
n aikayā pañcabhir yāvad darśanasthaḥ samanvitaḥ
bhāvanāsthaḥ punaḥ ṣaḍbhir ekayā vā dvayena vā [70]
tāsāṃ saṃkalanaṃ dhātuvairāgyaphalalābhataḥ
ekāṃ dve pañca ṣaṭ kaś cij jahāty āpnoti pañca na [71]

anuśayanirdeśo nāma pañcamaṃ kośasthānam

VI

kleśaprahāṇam ākhyātaṃ satyadarśanabhāvanāt
dvividho bhāvanāmārgo darśanākhyas tv anāsravaḥ [1]
satyāny uktāni catvāri duḥkhaṃ samudayas tathā
nirodho mārga ity eṣāṃ yathā'bhisamayaṃ kramaḥ [2]
duḥkhaṃ triduḥkhatāyogād yathāyogam aśeṣataḥ
manāpā amanāpāś ca tadanyo c aiva sāsravāḥ [3]
yatra bhinne na tadbuddhir anyā'pohe dhiyā ca tat
ghaṭā'mbuvat saṃvṛtisat paramārthasad anyathā [4]
vṛttasthaḥ śrutacintāvān bhāvanāyāṃ prayujyate
nāmobhayā'rthaviṣayāḥ śrutamayyādikā dhiyaḥ [5]
vyapakarṣadvayavato nā 'saṃtuṣṭamahecchayoḥ
labdhe bhūyaḥ spṛhā 'tuṣṭir alabdhecchā mahecchatā [6]
viparyayāt tadvipakṣau tridhātvāptā'malau ca tau
alobha āryavaṃśāś ca teṣāṃ tuṣṭyātmakās trayaḥ [7]
karmāntyena tribhir vṛttis tṛṣṇotpādavipakṣataḥ
mamā'haṅkāravastvicchātatkālā'tyantaśāntaye [8]
tatrā 'vatāro 'śubhayā c ānāpānasmṛtena ca
adhirāgavitarkāṇāṃ śaṅkalā sarvarāgiṇām [9]
āsamudrā'sthivistārasaṃkṣepād ādikarmikaḥ
pādā'sthna ākapālā'rdhatyāgāt kṛtajayaḥ smṛtaḥ [10]
atikrāntamanaskāro bhrūmadhye cittadhāraṇāt
alobho daśabhūḥ kāmadṛśyālambā nṛjā 'śubhā [11]
ānāpānasmṛtiḥ prajñā pañcabhūr vāyugocarā
kāmāśrayā na bāhyānāṃ ṣaḍvidhā gaṇanādibhiḥ [12]
gaṇanā 'nugamaḥ sthānaṃ lakṣaṇā 'tha vivartanā
pariśuddhiś ca ṣoḍh eyam ānāpānasmṛtir matā [13]
ānāpānau yataḥ kāyaḥ sattvākhyāv anupāttakau
naiṣyandikau nā 'vareṇa lakṣyete manasā ca tau [14]
niṣpannaśamathaḥ kuryāt smṛtyupasthānabhāvanām
kāyaviccittadharmāṇāṃ dvilakṣaṇaparīkṣaṇāt [15]
prajñā śrutā'dimayy anye saṃsargālambanāt kramaḥ
yathotpatti catuṣkaṃ tu viparyāsavipakṣataḥ [16]
sa dharmasmṛtyupasthāne samastālambane sthitaḥ
anityaduḥkhataḥ śūnyā'nātmatas tān vipaśyati [17]
tata uṣmagatotpattis tac catuḥsatyagocaram
ṣoḍaśākāram ūṣmabhyo mūrdhānas te 'pi tādṛśāḥ [18]
ubhayākaraṇaṃ dharmeṇā 'nyair api tu vardhanam
tebhyaḥ kṣāntir dvidhā tadvat kṣāntyā dharmeṇa vardhanam [19]
kāmāptaduḥkhaviṣayā tv adhimātrā kṣaṇaṃ ca sā
tathā 'gradharmāḥ sarve tu pañcaskandhā vin āptibhiḥ [20]
iti nirvedhabāgīyaṃ caturdhā bhāvanāmayam
anāgamyā'ntaradhyānabhūmikaṃ dve tv adho 'pi vā [21]
kāmāśrayāṇy agradharmān dvyāśrayān labhate 'ṅganā
bhūmityāgāt tyajaty āryas tāny anāryas tu mṛtyunā [22]
ādye dve parihāṇyā ca maulais tatr aiva satyadṛk
apūrvāptir vihīneṣu hānī dve asamanvitiḥ [23]
mūrdhalābhī na mūlacchit kṣāntilābhy anapāyagaḥ
śiṣyagotrād vivartya dve buddhaḥ syāt trīṇy ap ītaraḥ [24]
ābodheḥ sarvam ekatra dhyāne 'ntye śāstṛkhaḍgayoḥ
prāk tebhyo mokṣabhāgīyaṃ kṣipraṃ mokṣas tribhir bhavaiḥ [25]

śrutacintāmayaṃ trīṇi karmāṇy ākṣipyate triṣu
laukikebhyo 'gradharmebhyo dharmakṣāntir anāsravā [26]
kāmaduḥkhe tato 'tr aiva dharmajñānaṃ tathā punaḥ
śeṣe duḥkhe 'nvayakṣāntijñāne satyatraye tathā [27]
iti ṣoḍaśacitto 'yaṃ satyā'bhisamayas tridhā
darśanālambakāryākhyaḥ so 'gradharmaikabhūmikaḥ [28]
kṣāntijñānāny anantaryamuktimārgā yathākramam
adṛṣṭadṛṣṭer dṛṅmārgas tatra pañcadaśa kṣaṇāḥ [29]
mṛdutīkṣṇendriyau teṣu śraddhādharmā'nusāriṇau
ahīnabhāvanāheyau phalādyapratipannakau [30]
yāvat pañcaprakāraghnau dvitīyo 'rvāg navakṣayāt
kāmād viraktād ūrdhvaṃ vā tṛtīyapratipannakau [31]
ṣoḍaśe tu phalasthau tau yatra yaḥ pratipannakaḥ
śraddhā'dhimuktadṛṣṭyāptau mṛdutīkṣṇendriyau tadā [32]
phale phalaviśiṣṭasya lābho mārgasya nā 'sty ataḥ
nā 'prayukto viśeṣāya phalasthaḥ pratipannakaḥ [33]
navaprakārā doṣā hi bhūmau bhūmau tathā guṇāḥ
mṛdumadhyā'dhimātrāṇāṃ punar mṛdvādibhedataḥ [34]
akṣīṇabhāvanāheyaḥ phalasthaḥ saptakṛtparaḥ
tricaturvidhamuktas tu dvitrijanmā kulaṃkulaḥ [35]
āpañcamaprakāraghno dvitīyapratipannakaḥ
kṣīṇaṣaṣṭhaprakāras tu sakṛdāgāmy asau punaḥ [36]
kṣīṇasaptā'ṣṭadoṣā'ṃśa ekajanm aikavīcikaḥ
tṛtīyapratipannaś ca so 'nāgāmī navakṣayāt [37]
so 'ntarotpannasaṃskārā 'saṃskāraparinirvṛtiḥ
ūrdhvaṃsrotāś ca sa dhyāne vyavakīrṇo 'kaniṣṭhagaḥ [38]
sa pluto 'rdhaplutaḥ sarvachyutaś cā 'nyo bhavā'grajaḥ
ārūpyagaś caturdhā 'nya iha nirvāpako 'paraḥ [39]
punas trīn trividhān kṛtvā navarūpopagāḥ smṛtāḥ
tadviśeṣaḥ punaḥ karmakleśendriyaviśeṣataḥ [40]
ūrdhvaṃsrotur abhedena sapta sadgatayo matāḥ
sadasadvṛttyavṛttibhyāṃ gatā'pratyāgateś ca tāḥ [41]
na parāvṛttajanm āryaḥ kāme dhātvantaropagaḥ
sa c ordhvajaś ca n aivā 'kṣasaṃcāraparihāṇibhāk [42]
ākīryate caturthaṃ prāk sidhyati kṣaṇamiśraṇāt
upapattivihārā'rthaṃ kleśabhīrutayā 'pi ca [43]
tat pāñcavidhyāt pañc aiva śuddhāvāsopapattayaḥ
nirodhalābhy anāgāmī kāyasākṣī punar mataḥ [44]
ābhavā'grā'ṣṭabhāgakṣid arhattvapratipannakaḥ
navamasyā 'py anantaryapathe vajropamaś ca saḥ [45]
tatkṣayāptyā kṣayajñānam aśaikṣo 'rhann asau tadā
lokottareṇa vairāgyaṃ bhavā'grād anyato dvidhā [46]
laukiken āryavairāgye visaṃyogāptayo dvidhā
lokottareṇa c ety eke tyakte kleśā'samanvayāt [47]
bhavā'grā'rdhavimuktordhvajātavat tv asamanvayaḥ
anāsraveṇa vairāgyam anāgamyena sarvataḥ [48]
dhyānāt sāmantakād vā 'ntyo muktimārgas tribhūjaye
n ordhvaṃ sāmantakād āryair aṣṭābhiḥ svordhvabhūjayaḥ [49]
vimuktyanantaryapathā laukikās tu yathākramam
śāntādyudārādyākāra uttarā'dharagocarāḥ [50]
yady akopyaḥ kṣayajñānād anutpādamatir na cet
kṣayajñānam aśaikṣī vā dṛṣṭiḥ sarvasya sā 'rhataḥ [51]

śrāmaṇyam amalo mārgaḥ saṃskṛtā'saṃskṛtaṃ phalam
ekā na navatis tāni muktimārgāḥ saha kṣa[*yaiḥ* [52]
catuḥphalavyavasthā tu pañcakāraṇasambhavāt
pūrvatyāgo 'nyamārgāptiḥ kṣayasaṃkalanaṃ phale [53]
jñānāṣṭakasya lābho 'tha ṣoḍaśākārabhāvanā
laukikāptaṃ phalaṃ miśrā'nāsravaprāptidhāraṇāt [54]
brāhmaṇyam eva tad brahmacakraṃ tu brahmavartanāt
dharmacakraṃ tu dṛṅmārga āśugatvādyarādibhiḥ [55]
kāme trayāptir antyasya triṣu n ordhvaṃ hi dṛkpathaḥ
asaṃvegād iha vidhā tatra niṣṭh eti c āgamāt [56]
arhantaḥ ṣaṇ matās teṣāṃ pañca śraddhā'dhimuktajāḥ
vimuktiḥ sāmayiky eṣām akopyā 'kopyadharmaṇaḥ [57]
ato 'samayamuktaḥ so dṛṣṭiprāptā'nvayaś ca saḥ
tadgotrā āditaḥ ke cit ke cid uttāpanāgatāḥ [58]
gotrāc caturṇāṃ pañcānāṃ phalād dhānir na pūrvakāt
śaikṣā'nāryāś ca ṣaḍgotrā dṛṅmārgeṇa na saṃcaret [59]
prāptā'prāptopabhogebhyaḥ parihāṇis tridhā matā
antyā śāstur akopyasya madhyā 'py anyasya tu tridhā [60]
mriyate na phalabhraṣṭo na cā 'kāryaṃ karoti saḥ
vimuktyānantaryamārgā navā 'kopye 'tisevanāt [61]
ekaikaśo dṛṣṭlabdhe 'nāsravā nṛṣu vardhanam
aśaikṣo nava niśritya bhūmīḥ śaikṣas tu ṣaḍ yataḥ [62]
saviśeṣaṃ phalaṃ tyaktvā phalam āpnoti vardhayan
dvau buddhau śrāvakāḥ sapta c aite navavidhendriyāḥ [63]
prayogā'kṣasamāpattivimuktyubhayataḥ kṛtāḥ
pudgalāḥ sapta ṣaḍ v aita evaṃ mārgatraye dviśaḥ [64]
nirodhalābhy ubhayato vimuktaḥ prajñay etaraḥ
samāpattīndriyaphalaiḥ śaikṣasya paripūrṇatā [65]
dvābhyām aśaikṣasya caturvidho mārgaḥ samāsataḥ
prayogā'nantaryavimuktiviśeṣapathāhvayaḥ [66]
dhyāneṣu mārgaḥ pratipat sukhā duḥkhā 'nyabhūmiṣu
dhandhā'bhijñā mandabuddheḥ kṣiprā'bhijñ etarasya tu [67]
kṣayā'nutpādayor jñānaṃ bodhis tadanulomyataḥ
saptatriṃśat tu tatpakṣā] nāmato dravyato daśa [68]
śraddhā vīryaṃ smṛtiḥ prajñā samādhiḥ prītyupekṣaṇe
prasrabdhiśīlasaṃkalpāḥ prajñā hi smṛtyupasthitiḥ [69]
vīryaṃ samyakprahāṇākhyam ṛddhipādāḥ samādhayaḥ
pradhānagrahaṇaṃ sarve guṇāḥ prāyogikās tu te [70]
ādikarmikanirvedhabhāgīyeṣu prabhāvitāḥ
bhāvane darśane c aiva saptavargā yathākramam [71]
anāsravāṇi bodhyaṅgamārgā'ṅgāni dvidh etare
sakalāḥ prathame dhyāne 'nāgamya prītivarjitāḥ [72]
dvitīye 'nyatra saṃkalpād dvayos taddvayavarjitāḥ
dhyānā'ntare ca śīlā'ṅgais tābhyāṃ ca triṣv arūpiṣu [73]
kāmadhātau bhavā'gre ca bodhimārgā'ṅgavarjitāḥ
trisatyadarśane śīladharmā'vetyaprasādayoḥ [74]
lābho mārgā'bhisamaye buddhatatsaṃghayor api
dharmaḥ satyatrayaṃ bodhisattvapratyekabuddhayoḥ [75]
mārgaś ca dravyatas tu dvau śraddhā śīlaṃ ca nirmalāḥ
n oktā vimuktiḥ śaikṣā'ṅgaṃ baddhatvāt sā punar dvidhā [76]
asaṃskṛtā kleśahānam adhimuktis tu saṃskṛtā
sā'ṅgaṃ s aiva vimuktī dve jñānaṃ bodhir yathoditā [77]

vimucyate jāyamānam aśaikṣaṃ cittam āvṛteḥ
nirudhyamāno mārgas tu prajahāti tadāvṛtim [78]
asaṃskṛt aiva dhātvākhyā virāgo rāgasaṃkṣayaḥ
prahāṇa*dhātur anyeṣāṃ nirodha iti vastunaḥ* [79]
nirvidyate duḥkhahetukṣāntijñānair virajyate
sarvair jahāti yair evaṃ catuṣkoṭikasambhavaḥ [80]

mārgaprahāṇanirdeśo nāma ṣaṣṭhaṃ kośasthānam

VII

nā 'malāḥ kṣāntayo jñānaṃ kṣayā'nutpādadhīr na dṛk
tadany obhayath āryā dhīr anyā jñānaṃ dṛśaś ca ṣaṭ [1]
sāsravā'nāsravaṃ jñānam ādyaṃ saṃvṛtisaṃjñakam
anāsravaṃ dvidhā dharmajñānam anvayam eva ca [2]
sāṃvṛtaṃ sarvaviṣayaṃ kāmaduḥkhā'digocaram
dharmākhyam anvayajñānaṃ t ūrdhvaduḥkhādigocaram [3]
te eva satyabhedena catvāry ete caturvidhe
anutpādakṣayajñāne te punaḥ prathamodite [4]
duḥkhahetvanvayajñāne caturbhyaḥ paracittavit
bhūmyakṣapudgalotkrāntaṃ naṣṭā'jātaṃ na vetti tat [5]
na dharmā'nvayadhīpakṣaṃ anyonyaṃ darśanakṣaṇau
śrāvako vetti khaḍgas trīn sarvān buddho 'prayogataḥ [6]
kṣayajñānaṃ hi satyeṣu parijñātādiniścayaḥ
na parijñeyam ityādir anutpādamatir matā [7]
svabhāvapratipakṣābhyām ākārākāragocarāt
prayogakṛtakṛtyatvahetūpacayato daśa [8]
dharmajñānaṃ nirodhe yan mārge vā bhāvanāpathe
tridhātupratipakṣas tat kāmadhātos tu nā 'nvayam [9]
dharmajñānā'nvayajñānaṃ ṣoḍaśākāram anyathā
tathā ca sāṃvṛtaṃ svaiḥ svaiḥ satyākāraiś catuṣṭayam [10]
tathā paramanojñānaṃ nirmalaṃ samalaṃ punaḥ
jñeyasvalakṣaṇākāram ekaikadravyagocaram [11]
śeṣe caturdaśākāre śūnyā'nātmavivarjite
nā 'malaḥ ṣoḍaśabhyo 'nyaś c ākāro 'nye 'sti śāstrataḥ [12]
dravyataḥ ṣoḍaśākārāḥ prajñākāras tayā saha
ākārayanti sālambāḥ sarvam ākāryate tu sat [13]
tridh ādyaṃ kuśalāny anyāny ādyaṃ sarvāsu bhūmiṣu
dharmākhyaṃ ṣaṭsu navasu tv anvayākhyaṃ tath aiva ṣaṭ [14]
dhyāneṣv anyamanojñānaṃ kāmarūpāśrayaṃ ca tat
kāmāśrayaṃ tu dharmākhyam anyat traidhātukāśrayam [15]
smṛtyupasthānam ekaṃ dhīr nirodhe paracittadhīḥ
trīṇi catvāri śeṣāṇi dharmadhīgocaro nava [16]
nava mārgā'nvayadhiyor duḥkhahetudhiyor dvayam
caturṇāṃ daśa n aikasya yojyā dharmāḥ punar daśa [17]
traidhātukā'malā dharmā akṛtāś ca dvidhā dvidhā
sāṃvṛtaṃ svakalāpā'nyad ekaṃ vidyād anātmataḥ [18]
ekajñānā'nvito rāgī prathame 'nāsravakṣaṇe
dvitīye tribhir ūrdhvaṃ tu caturṣv ekaikavṛddhimān [19]
yathotpannāni bhāvyante kṣāntijñānāni darśane
anāgatāni tatr aiva sāṃvṛtaṃ cā 'nvayatraye [20]
ato 'bhisamayā'ntyākhyaṃ tadanutpattidharmakam
svā'dhobhūmi nirodhe 'ntyaṃ svasatyākārayātnikam [21]

ṣoḍaśe ṣaṭ sarāgasya vītarāgasya sapta tu
sarāgabhāvanāmārge tadūrdhvaṃ saptabhāvanā [22]
saptabhūmijayā'bhijñā'kopyāptākīrṇabhāvite
ānantaryapatheṣ ūrdhvamuktimārgā'ṣṭake 'pi ca [23]
śaikṣottāpanamukte vā ṣaṭsaptajñānabhāvanā
ānantaryapathe ṣaṇṇāṃ bhavā'gravijaye tathā [24]
navānāṃ tu kṣayajñāne 'kopyasya daśabhāvanā
tatsaṃcāre 'ntyamuktau ca proktā śeṣe 'ṣṭabhāvanā [25]
yadvairāgyāya yallābhas tatra vā 'dhaś ca bhāvyate
sāsravāś ca kṣayajñāne labdhapūrvaṃ na bhāvyate [26]
pratilambhaniṣevākhye śubhasaṃskṛtabhāvane
pratipakṣavinirdhāvabhāvane sāsravasya tu [27]
aṣṭādaś āveṇikās tu buddhadharmā balādayaḥ
sthānā'sthāne daśa jñāny aṣṭau karmaphale nava [28]
dhyānādyakṣā'dhimokṣeṣu dhātau ca pratipatsu tu
daśa vā saṃvṛtijñānaṃ dvayoḥ ṣaṭ daśa vā kṣaye [29]
prāṅnivāsacyutotpādabaladhyāneṣu śeṣitam
sarvabhūmiṣu konā 'sya balam avyāhataṃ yataḥ [30]
nārāyaṇaṃ balaṃ kāye saṃdhiṣv anye daśā'dhikam
hastyādisaptakabalaṃ spraṣṭavyāyatanaṃ ca tat [31]
vaiśāradyaṃ caturdhā tu yath ādyadaśame bale
dvitīye saptame c aiva smṛtiprajñātmakaṃ trayam [32]
mahākṛpā saṃvṛtidhīḥ saṃbhārākāragocaraiḥ
samatvād ādhimātryāc ca nānākaraṇam aṣṭadhā [33]
saṃbhāradharmakāyābhyāṃ jagataś cā 'rthacaryayā
samatā sarvabuddhānāṃ n āyurjātipramāṇataḥ [34]
śiṣyasādhāraṇā anye dharmāḥ ke cit pṛthagjanaiḥ
araṇāpraṇidhijñānapratisaṃvidguṇādayaḥ [35]
saṃvṛtijñānam araṇā dhyāne 'ntye 'kopyadharmaṇaḥ
nṛjā'nutpannakāmāptasavastukleśagocarāḥ [36]
tath aiva praṇidhijñānaṃ sarvālambaṃ tu tat tathā
dharmā'rthayor niruktau ca pratibhāne ca saṃvidaḥ [37]
tisro nāmā'rthavāgjñānam avivartyaṃ yathākramam
caturthī yuktamuktā'bhilāpamārgavaśitvayoḥ [38]
vāṅmārgālambanā cā 'sau nava jñānāni sarvabhūḥ
daśa ṣaḍ vā 'rthasaṃvit sā sarvatrā 'nye tu sāṃvṛtam [39]
kāmadhyāneṣu dharme vid vāci prathamakāmayoḥ
vikalābhir na tallābhī ṣaḍ ete prāntakoṭikāḥ [40]
tat ṣaḍvidhaṃ dhyānam antyaṃ sarvabhūmyanulomitam
vṛddhikāṣṭhāgataṃ tat tu buddhānyasya prayogajāḥ [41]
ṛddhiśrotramanaḥpūrvajanmacyutyudayakṣaye
jñānaṃ sākṣātkriyā 'bhijñā ṣaḍvidhā muktimārgadhī [42]
catasraḥ saṃvṛtijñānaṃ cetasi jñānapañcakam
kṣayā'bhijñā balaṃ yadvat pañca dhyānacatuṣṭaye [43]
svā'dhobhūviṣayā labhyā ucitās tu virāgataḥ
tṛtīyā trīṇy upasthānāny ādyaṃ śrotrarddhicakṣuṣi [44]
avyākṛte śrotracakṣurabhijñe itarāḥ śubhāḥ
tisro vidyā avidyāyāḥ pūrvā'ntādau nivartanāt [45]
aśaikṣy antyā tadākhye dve tatsaṃtānasamudbhavāt
iṣṭe śaikṣasya n okte tu vidye sā'vidyasaṃtateḥ [46]
ādyā tṛtīyā ṣaṣṭhī ca prātihāryāṇi śāsanam
agryam avyabhicāritvād dhiteṣṭaphalayojanāt [47]

ṛddhiḥ samādhir gamanaṃ nirmāṇaṃ ca tato gatiḥ
śāstur manojavā 'nyeṣāṃ vāhiny apy ādhimokṣikī [48]
kāmāptaṃ nirmitaṃ bāhyaṃ caturāyatanaṃ dvidhā
rūpāptaṃ dve tu nirmāṇacittais tāni caturdaśa [49]
yathākramaṃ dhyānaphalaṃ dve yāvat pañca n ordhvajam
tallābho dhyānavac chuddhāt tat svataś ca tato 'pi te [50]
svabhūmikena nirmāṇaṃ bhāṣaṇaṃ tv adhareṇa ca
nirmātr aiva sahā 'śāstur adhiṣṭhāyā 'nyavartanāt [51]
mṛtasyā 'py asty adhiṣṭhānaṃ nā 'sthirasyā 'pare tu na
ādāv ekam anekena jitāyāṃ tu viparyayāt [52]
avyākṛtaṃ bhāvanājaṃ trividhaṃ t ūpapattijam
ṛddhir mantrauṣadhādyāś ca karmajā c eti pañcadhā [53]
divye śrotrā'kṣiṇī rūpaprasādau dhyānabhūmikau
sabhāgā'vikale nityaṃ dūrasūkṣmādigocare [54]
dvitrisāhasrakā'saṃkhyadṛśo 'rhatkhadgadaiśikāḥ
anyad apy upapattyāptaṃ taddṛśyo nā 'ntarābhavaḥ [55]
cetojñānaṃ tu tat tredhā tarkavidyākṛtaṃ ca yat
jānate nārakā ādau nṛṇāṃ n otpattilābhikam [56]

jñānanirdeśo nāma saptamaṃ kośasthānam

VIII

dvidhā dhyānāni catvāri proktās tadupapattayaḥ
samāpattiḥ śubhaikā'gryaṃ pañcaskandhās tu sānugam [1]
vicāraprītisukhavat pūrvapūrvā'ṅgavarjitam
tath ārūpyāś catuḥskandhā adhobhūmivivekajāḥ [2]
vibhūtarūpasaṃjñākhyāḥ saha sāmantakais tribhiḥ
n ārūpye rūpasadbhāvo rūpotpattis tu cittataḥ [3]
ākāśānantyavijñānānantyākiñcanyasaṃjñakāḥ
tathāprayogān māndyāt tu nasaṃjñānā'pyasaṃjñakaḥ [4]
iti maulaṃ samāpattidravyam aṣṭavidhaṃ tridhā
sapt āsvādanavacchuddhā'nāsravāṇy aṣṭamaṃ dvidhā [5]
āsvādanāsaṃprayuktaṃ satṛṣṇaṃ laukikaṃ śubham
śuddhakaṃ tu tadāsvādyaṃ lokottaram anāsravam [6]
pañc ādye tarkacārau ca prītisaukhyasamādhayaḥ
prītyādayaḥ prasādaś ca dvitīye 'ṅgacatuṣṭayam [7]
tṛtīye pañca t ūpekṣā smṛtiḥ prajñā sukhaṃ sthitiḥ
catvāry antye sukhā'duḥkhopekṣāsmṛtisamādhayaḥ [8]
dravyato daśa c aikaṃ ca prasrabdhiḥ sukham ādyayoḥ
śraddhā prasādaḥ prītis tu saumanasyaṃ dvidh āgamāt [9]
kliṣṭe tv asat prītisukhaṃ prasādaḥ saṃpradhiḥ smṛtiḥ
upekṣā smṛtiśuddhiś ca ke cit prasrabdhyupekṣaṇe [10]
aṣṭā'pakṣālamuktatvād āneñjyaṃ tu caturthakaḥ
vitarkacārau śvāsau ca sukhādi ca catuṣṭayaḥ [11]
saumanasyasukhopekṣā upekṣāsumanaskate
sukhopekṣe upekṣā ca vido dhyānopapattiṣu [12]
kāyā'kṣiśrotravijñānaṃ vijñaptyutthāpakaṃ ca yat
dvitīyādau tad ādyāptam akliṣṭā'vyākṛtaṃ ca tat [13]
atadvān labhate śuddhaṃ vairāgyeṇ opapattitaḥ
anāsravaṃ tu vairāgyāt kliṣṭaṃ hānyupapattitaḥ [14]
tṛtīyād yāvad ūrdhvādho 'nāsravā'nantaraṃ śubham
utpadyate tathā śuddhāt kliṣṭaṃ cā 'pi svabhūmikam [15]

kliṣṭāt svaṃ śuddhakaṃ kliṣṭam ekaṃ cā 'dharaśuddhakam
cyutau tu śuddhakāt kliṣṭaṃ sarvaṃ kliṣṭāt tu n ottaram [16]
caturdhā śuddhakaṃ hānabhāgīyādi yathākramam
kleśotpattisvabhūmyūrdhvā'nāsravā'nuguṇaṃ hi tat [17]
dve trīṇi trīṇi c aikaṃ ca hānabhāgādyanantaram
gatv āgamya dvidhā bhūmīr aṣṭau śliṣṭaikalaṅghitāḥ [18]
vyutkrāntakasamāpattir visabhāgatṛtīyagā
svā'dhobhūmyāśrayā eva dhyānārūpyā vṛthā 'varam [19]
āryākiṃcanyasāṃmukhyād bhavā'gro tv āsravakṣayaḥ
satṛṣṇāḥ svabhavālambā dhyānaṃ sadviṣayaṃ śubham [20]
na maulāḥ kuśalārūpyāḥ sāsravā'dharagocarāḥ
anāsraveṇa hīyante kleśāḥ sāmantakena ca [21]
aṣṭau sāmantakāny eṣāṃ śuddhā'duḥkhā'sukhāni hi
āryaṃ c ādyaṃ tridhā ke cid atarkaṃ dhyānam antaram [22]
tridhā 'duḥkhā'sukhaṃ tac ca mahābrahmāphalaṃ ca tat
savitarkavicāro 'dhaḥ samādhiḥ parato 'dvayaḥ [23]
animittaḥ samākāraiḥ śūnyatā 'nātmaśūnyataḥ
pravartate 'praṇihitaḥ satyākārair ataḥ paraiḥ [24]
śuddhā'malā nirmalās tu te vimokṣamukhatrayam
śūnyatāśūnyatādyākhyās trayo 'parasamādhayaḥ [25]
ālambete aśaikṣaṃ dvau śūnyataś cā 'py anityataḥ
ānimittā'nimittas tu śāntato 'saṃkhyayā kṣayam [26]
sāsravā nṛṣv akopyasya saptasāmantavarjitāḥ
samādhibhāvanā dhyānaṃ śubham ādyaṃ sukhāya hi [27]
darśanāyā 'kṣyabhijñ eṣṭā dhībhedāya prayogajāḥ
vajropamo 'ntye yo dhyāne sāsravakṣayabhāvanā [28]
apramāṇāni catvāri vyāpādādivipakṣataḥ
maitry adveṣo 'pi karuṇā muditā sumanaskatā [29]
upekṣā 'lobha ākāraḥ sukhitā duḥkhitā bata
modantām iti sattvāś ca kāmasattvās tu gocaraḥ [30]
dhyānayor muditā 'nyāni ṣaṭsu ke cit tu pañcasu
na taiḥ prahāṇaṃ nṛṣv eva janyante tryanvito dhruvam [31]
aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ prathamāv aśubhā dhyānayor dvayoḥ
tṛtīyo 'ntye sa cā 'lobhaḥ śubhārūpyāḥ samāhitāḥ [32]
nirodhas tu samāpattiḥ sūkṣmasūkṣmād anantaram
svaśuddhakā'dharāryeṇa vyutthānaṃ cetasā *tataḥ* [33]
*kāmāpta*dṛśyaviṣayāḥ prathamā ye tv arūpiṇaḥ
te 'nvayajñānapakṣordhvasvabhūduḥkhādigocarāḥ [34]
abhibhvāyatanāny aṣṭau dvayam ādyavimokṣavat
dve dvitīyavad anyāni punaḥ śubhavimokṣa*vat* [35]
*daśa kṛ*tsnāny alobho 'ṣṭau dhyāne 'ntye gocaraḥ punaḥ
kāmā dve śuddhakārūpye svacatuḥskandhagocare [36]
nirodha ukto vairāgyaprayogāpyaṃ tu śeṣitam
tridhātvāśrayam ārūpyasaṃjñaṃ śeṣaṃ manuṣyajam [37]
hetukarmaphalād dhātvor ārūpyotpādanaṃ dvayoḥ
dhyānānāṃ rūpadhātau tu tābhyāṃ dharmatayā 'pi ca [38]
saddharmo dvividhaḥ śāstur āgamā'dhigamātmakaḥ
dhātāras tasya vaktāraḥ pratipattāra eva ca [39]

kāśmīravaibhāṣikanītisiddhaḥ
prāyo mayā 'yaṃ kathito 'bhidharmaḥ
yad durgṛhītaṃ tad ihā 'smadāgaḥ
saddharmanītau munayaḥ pramāṇam [40]

nimīlite śāstari lokacakṣuṣi
kṣayaṃ gate sākṣijane ca bhūyasā
adṛṣṭatattvair niravagrahaiḥ kṛtaṃ
kutārkikaiḥ śāsanam etad ākulam [41]
gate hi śāntiṃ paramāṃ svayaṃbhuvi
svayaṃbhuvaḥ śāsanadhṛgvareṣu ca
jagaty anāthe guṇaghātibhir malair
niraṅkuśaiḥ svairam ihā 'tra caryate [42]
iti kaṇṭhagataprāṇaṃ viditvā śāsanaṃ muneḥ
balakālaṃ malānāṃ ca na pramādyaṃ mumukṣubhiḥ [43]

samāpattinirdeśo nāma *aṣṭamaṃ kośasthā*nam

IX

saṃtānena samarthatvād yathā 'gniḥ sarvabhug mataḥ
tathā sarvavid eṣṭavyo na sakṛtsarvavedanāt [1]
dṛṣṭidaṃṣṭrā'vabhedaṃ ca bhraṃśaṃ cā 'pekṣya karmaṇām
deśayanti *buddhā dharmaṃ vyā*ghrīpotā'pahāravat [2]
ātmā'stitvaṃ hy upagato bhinnaḥ syād dṛṣṭidaṃṣṭrayā
bhraṃśaṃ kuśalapotasya kuryād aprāpya saṃvṛtim [3]
asattvād bhagavān jīvaṃ tattvā'nyatvena nā 'vadat
nā 'st īty api ca nā 'vocan mā bhūt prājñaptiko 'py asan [4]
yatra hi skandhasaṃtāne śubhā'śubhaphalā'stitā
jīvākhyā tatra sā na syāj jīvanāstitvadeśanāt [5]
prajñaptimātraṃ skandheṣu jīva ity api nā 'vadat
abhavyaḥ śūnyatāṃ boddhuṃ tadānīṃ tādṛśo janaḥ [6]
tathā hy ātmā 'sti nā 'st īti pṛṣṭo vātsyena nā 'vadat
āśrayā'pekṣa*yā 'siddhaḥ* sati tv ast īti n āha kim [7]
sarvākāraṃ kāraṇam ekasya mayūracandrakasyā 'pi
nā 'sarvajñair jñeyaṃ sarvajñabalaṃ hi taj jñānam [8]
yad guru yac c āsannaṃ yac cā 'bhyastaṃ kṛtaṃ ca yat pūrvam
pūrvaṃ pūrvaṃ pūrvaṃ vipacyate karma saṃsāre [9]
karma tadbhāvanā tasyā vṛttilābhaṃ tataḥ phalam
niyamena prajānāti buddhād anyo na sarvathā [10]
ity etāṃ suvihitahetumārgaśuddhāṃ
*buddhānāṃ pravacanadharma*tāṃ niśamya
andhānāṃ vividhakudṛṣṭiceṣṭitānāṃ
tīrthyānāṃ matam apavidhya yānty anadhāḥ [11]
imāṃ hi nirvāṇapuraikavartinīm
tathāgatādityavaco'ṃśubhā*svatīm*
*ni*rātmatām āryasahasravāhitām
na mandacakṣur vivṛtām ap īkṣate [12]
iti diṅmātram ev edam upadiṣṭaṃ sumedhasām
vraṇadeśo viṣasy eva svasā*marthyavi*sarpiṇaḥ [13]

pudgalanirdeśo nāma navamaṃ kośasthānam
abhidharmakośakārikā samāptā
kṛtir vasubandhupādānām †

N.B.—References to the text, printed in bold type at the beginning of each note, give the number of chapter in Roman numerals, verse in Arabic figures and

foot in alphabets: a-b-c-d. In recording the variants, only the necessary part of the text is quoted, with the varying letters put in italics. Each reference is separated from the next one by a slanting bar. Abbreviations used are as follows:

ms. = manuscript discovered by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana in the Ngor monastery in Tibet, complete except for one missing folio [no. 35], including verses 53–68 of chapter VI.

L'A. = Fragments covering nearly 211 verses from the first four chapters of the work, published by Louis de la Vallée Poussin in L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, Vol. VI [Paris, 1931].

LVP. = Louis de la Vallée Poussin in L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, Vols. I–VI [Paris, 1923–31], his Saṃskṛta reconstructions of the text being shown in square brackets and other minor restorations also as italicised.

Yaś. = Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra, ed. by Unrai Wogihara, Vols. I–II [Tokyo, 1932–36], pp. 1–723.

* Folio 1b of the MS. begins here with the text proper. On the a-side of this first folio, which is ordinarily reserved as a title-page, appears the following verse:

ayaṃ tāvac chāstā jagati viditaḥ kṣīṇavimatir
yatis tattve vittaḥ[sic!] tribhavajanasaṃjātakaruṇaḥ ।
guṇā'raṇye 'gaṇye carati bhavabhītbhaṅgavigataḥ
sa saṃbuddhau bodhau bhavaśamasukhe sāmyam agamat ॥

In the blank space towards the right end of the page, a Tibetan note is written in the U-me script: mṅon pa mdzod kyi rgya dpe, to indicate that the book is an 'Indian MS. of the Abhidharmakośa'.

I.39c-d L'A. tatsabhāg*o* '*pi śeṣo* / **I.48** After the last word: kośasthānam in this chapter, ms. reads '49' in figure numerals, indicating the grantl asaṃkhyā [?]. / **II.16a** ms. *kāma*mṛtyau, cf. Yaś. I, p. 111, l. 31. / **II.22c** L'A. kāyendriy*o* / **II.25c** L'A. *avi*hiṃsā / **II.27b** L'A. pra*māda* [*for* pradāśa] / **II.30a** ms. nir*v*ṛtte, **-d** L'A. *bhavet* [*for* hi tat] / **II.32d** L'A. *ubhayaṃ* [*for* te punaḥ] / **II.33a** L'A. aud*dhatya*, although LVP. [audārya] / **II.38d** L'A. nairmāṇikā*v* / **II.48c** L'A. niṣyand*aḥ* / **II.56a** L'A. vipāka*ḥ* phalam, Yaś. I, p. 221, l. 28 agrees with ms. / **II.67b** L'A. aṣṭ*a*bhya /

III.1a L'A. n*ā*raka, cf. Yaś. I, p. 253, ll. 19ff. for its etymology / **III.5c** L'A. vipary*a*ya / **III.8a** L'A. sthiti*ḥ* proktam, Yaś. I, p. 264, l. 21 agrees with L'A / **III.12c** L'A. gandharv*aḥ* / **III.17b** L'A. svayaṃbhuv*au* / **III.18b** L'A. karmakleśā'bhisaṃskṛtam / **III.30c** ms. saṃsparśaḥ / **III.31d** ms. sukh*e* vedyādayas / **III.32b** ms. parā*ḥ* / **III.34a** L'A. ārūpya*ṃ* / **III.41a** ms. ni*v*ṛttiś / **III.48c** L'A. īṣādh*a*raḥ, cf. variant in III.64b / **III.53c-d** L'A. jamb*u*dvīpo dvisāhasr*at*ripārśvaḥ / **III.54a** L'A. sārdha*ṃ* triyojanaṃ / **III.59a** L'A. c*aiva*[sic!] / **III.64b** L'A. mālādh*a*rāḥ, cf. variant in III.48c / **III.69d** L'A. hasitekṣ*aṇa* / **III.75a** L'A. jāmb*u*dvīpāḥ, see III.53c, ms. writes jambū-, jāmbū- with a long ū everywhere as in IV.109a, etc. / **III.78c** L'A. an*te* / **III.83b** L'A. antaḥkalpa*ḥ punaḥ* punaḥ, **-c** L'A. kalpa*s tirya*śc*ā*ṃ, **-d** L'A. māsā*hah*śatapañcakam / **III.84d** L'A. vṛddh*y*āyuṣaḥ / **III.88b** L'A. viṃś*at*kṣaṇaśataṃ / **III.90a** L'A. n*ā*raka, see note on III.1a / **III.98a-b** L'A. *saṃgrahaṃ* kṛtvā *bhāgāda*[*i*]*ḥ*, ms. agrees with Tibetan, quoted by LVP: bsogs ḥjog byas nas ni. ḥdzin bcas rnams kyis / **III.102** L'A. adds *iti* at the end. /

IV.1d ms. tajj*aṃ* / **IV.9a** L'A. stops after saṃprayoge*na*. / **IV.48c** ms. *ā*pūrvā / **IV.52d** ms. n*aḥ* / **IV.97a** For anantaryaṃ see note on VI.29a below / **IV.102d** ms. cakrabhede / **IV.112a** LVP. [puṣya] *for* tiṣya / **IV.120c** LVP. [parivāravipākā], lost in ms. / **IV.122a** rūpaṃ [after Yaś., p. 436, l. 33 and LVP.] lost in ms. / **IV.123a** ms. dauḥśīly*aṃ* /

V.1c ms. mān*ā* / **V.4d-5a** LVP. [rśanaiḥ // catvāro], lost in ms. / **V.21b** LVP. [aparāntakāḥ] *for* bāhyakāḥ / **V.32** represents a summary of

the previous contents. After this verse our ms. repeats the first half of the foregoing verse 31, viz. *nirodhamārgadṛgghеyāḥ sarve svā'dhikagocarāḥ*, which I have omitted in this edition. LVP. does not include this one and a half verse of summary in the body of the kārikā-text. His numbering of the following verses till the end of the present chapter will therefore be found to be less by one. / **V.62c** ms. pra*ti*hātavyaḥ /

VI.13 This summarizing verse is not numbered by LVP., whose edition thus gives a total of 79 verses only in this chapter, instead of our 80. / **VI.24c** ms. gotrā*nvi*vartye [sic!] / **VI.26b** LVP. [nṛṣu] *for* triṣu, because Tibetan reads: mi yi naṅ las, but Yaś. II, p. 541, l. 7: manuṣyeṣv eva triṣu dvīpeṣu / **VI.29a** For the grammatical form: anantarya [also in VI.45c and 50a], see Yaś. II, p. 545, ll. 9-10 / **VI.31c** Yaś. II, p. 550, ll. 28–31: kāmād viraktā*d* ūrdhvaṃ ceti vacanāt . . . . kāmād viraktā*v* iti vacanāt / **VI.38c-41a** For a grammatical note on the form: ūrdhvaṃsrotāḥ see Yaś. II, p. 560, ll. 5–11 / **VI.43b** ms. riṣyatiḥ[sic!] *for* sidhyati, after Tibetan and Chinese / **VI.52d** *after* saha kṣa *up to end of* **68c,** one folio, viz. No. 35, is missing in ms. LVP.'s restoration of this lost portion has been revised here mainly to improve its metrical defects and printed in italics. / **VI.55c** LVP. [*brahma*cakraṃ], an obvious misprint for dharmacakraṃ / **VI.57c** LVP. sāmayikī [tadvimuktiḥ] / **VI.58a** LVP. [asamayavimukto 'taḥ] (?) / **VI.58d** LVP. [ke cid uttāpanāt punaḥ], cf. Yaś. II, p. 583, l. 30: uttāpanāgato. . / **VI.59a** LVP. [caturṇāṃ gotrāt pañcānāṃ] / **VI.59c-d** LVP. [ṣaḍgotrā anāryaśaikṣāḥ] [darśanamārge nendriyasaṃcāraḥ] / **VI.61c** LVP. [vimuktyānantaryapathā] / **VI.62a** LVP. [ekaikas tu dṛṣṭiprāpte] / **VI.63d** LVP. [te sanavavidhendriyāḥ] / **VI.64b** LVP. [vimuktyubhayabhāvitāḥ ?], cf. Tibetan: gñis kas byas paḥo / **VI.64d** [dvikam] *for* 'dviśaḥ' / **VI.66c-d** LVP. [saviśeṣavimuktyānantaryaprayogasāhvayaḥ] / **VI.68b** LVP. [bodhis tadānulomyataḥ], cf. Yaś. II, p. 600, ll. 19–22 for: tādanulomyataḥ / **VI.74b** ms. bodhi*maṇḍā*ṅgavarjitāḥ, cf. Yaś. II, p. 605, l. 2/ **VI.79b** ms. vi*rodho*, cf. Yaś. II, p. 608, l. 13 / **VI.79c-80a** [*dhātur* . . . *nirvidyate*], rendered invisible in the photograph of the ms. on account of an overlapping folio. /

VII.25d Yaś. II, p. 636, l. 11, however, agreeing with Tibetan: bśad paḥi lhag la, reads: prokt*a*śeṣe / **VII.53c** ms. ṛddhimantrauṣadhādyāñ ca / **VII.55b** ms. dṛśorarha*n* /

VIII.33d-34a [*tataḥ* // *kāmāpta*], lost in ms. / **VIII.35d-36a** [*vat* // *daśa kṛ*], lost in ms. / **VIII.42b-c** dhṛgvare, badly legible, [*jagaty anāthe*] lost in ms. / **VIII.43ff.** In the concluding title: [*aṣṭamaṃ kośasthā*], lost in ms. /

IX.1 cf. LVP. p. 255/ **IX.2-7** cf. LVP., pp. 265-266/ **IX.2c-d** [*buddhā* (=budhā ?) *dharmaṃ vyā*], lost in ms. / **IX.7c** [*yā* '*siddha*], lost in ms. / **IX.8d** ms. sarvabalaṃ hi taj jñānam, cf. Yaś. I., p. 5, l. 17 and II, p. 714, l. 33, also comp. LVP., p. 284 [chap. IX], p. 2 [chap. I] / **IX.9** LVP., p. 297 / **IX.10** LVP., p. 300 / **IX.11-13** LVP., p. 301, **-11b** buddhānāṃ pravacanadharma, lost in ms., **-11d** ms. apadhya *for* apavidhya / **IX.12b-c** [*svatīm* // *ni*], lost in ms. / **IX.13d** [*marthyavi*], lost in ms. /

† Hereafter till the end of this side of the folio · 45a, only the following portion in verse is legible: . . . . balās tīrthyāḥ so 'py anirdiṣṭalakṣaṇaḥ / -prayogaviruddhaś ca na c eṣṭā'nyaprasādhakaḥ // sudūranaṣṭād dhi munīndraśāsanāt nayanti ye tarkapathena dharmatām / tathā . . . . nirūpyatāṃ yady upayātavikriyām // ātmabhāvasya bhogānāṃ . . vṛtteḥ śubhasya ca / utsargaḥ sarvasattvebhyas tatra . . śuddhivardhanam // śikṣāsamuccayo-vivaraṇaṃ-. The reverse side of the folio, which might contain some information regarding the scribes and the date of the ms., is totally illegible in the photograph.

Rasaratnapradīpikā of Allarāja. Edited with Introduction, Text, Notes and Appendices by Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, Bharatīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1945. Pp. 24+58. Rs.2-12-0.

In editing the Rasaratnapradīpikā of Allarāja (who is one of the few royal patrons and authors)—a work dealing with the Rasa theory in Sanskrit Rhetoric—Dr. R. N. Dandekar has laid the students of Alaṅkāraśāstra under deep gratitude. Glancing through the text of this brochure one is struck with the absence of originality in the subject-matter, in its treatment and the illustrative stanzas. Allarāja has profusely drawn upon the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya for the treatment of the subject and has hardly consulted any standard work on Alaṅkāraśāstra. The aim of the author, as the editor himself points out in his Introduction, is to present a small hand-book, a mere compilation on the subject of Rasa, easily comprehensible by the *Bālas*. Advanced students of Sanskrit Rhetoric will hardly find anything new in the work of the royal patron and author. They cannot, however, afford to miss the critical Introduction to the work by the editor, wherein he gives a brief summary of the contents of the work chapter by chapter and cleverly sets forth the literary and the historical evidence to fix up the age of the author.

It is the Introduction, the text which is authentic because it is based upon four different manuscripts known so far, the three Appendices, mentioning the works and the authors quoted by Allarāja (App. I), stating the illustrative stanzas from the Rasaratnapradīpikā which are also found in Dhanika's commentary on Dhanañjaya's Daśarūpaka, the Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha with the context given in rectangular brackets (App. II) and presenting an alphabetical index to the illustrative stanzas, that have made the edition of Rasaratnapradīpikā worthy of the attention of every student of Sanskrit Rhetoric.

H. R. K.

Education in India Today. By P. M. LIMAYE. (Deccan Education Society, Poona.) 1945. Pp. 140. Rs.2.

Prof. P. M. Limaye, one of the great band of selfless educationists of Poona, has given us a very readable account of the educational institutions of this country. The present survey was undertaken by him for the Deccan Education Society, Poona, and it must also be pointed out that it was made possible by a donation to the Society earmarked for this purpose. It is not often that such ventures are undertaken or encouraged in our country; and the donor, the D. E. Society and Prof. Limaye all deserve our congratulations in striking a new path in educational surveys, somewhat reminiscent of the work sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation.

P. M. J.

Tirukkuraḷ-Kāmattupāl with the commentaries of Kāḷiṅgar and Paripperumāḷ. Edited by Sri P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., and Vidwan T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, B.O.L., Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, 1945. Pp. xiv+122. Rs.4.

Tirukkuraḷ is the great piece of Tamil literature—one of the moving human documents of the world. Father Beschi was the first to translate it into Latin. Subsequently Dr. Graul published a German version. Rev. G. U. Pope brought out a full English translation in 1886. V. V. S. Iyer's recent English rendering is considered to be the best. The book has been translated into almost all the chief languages of India.

Tirukkuraḷ is the great and only work of Tiruvalluva-Nayanar, a Harijan poet of Mylapore, Madras. It consists of 1,330 distichs divided into 133 chapters of ten couplets each, under three parts called Virtue, Wealth and Love.

Although ten ancient Indian commentaries on Tirukkuraḷ have been written, only two have been published so far, Maṇakkuḍavar's annotations and Parimēlaḷagar's explanations are well known to the Tamil scholars. This Tamil book contains the third section of Tirukkuraḷ with the hitherto unpublished commentaries of Kāḷiṅgar and Paripperumāḷ.

The commentators give verbatim summaries of each distich of this section of the Tirukkuraḷ which deals on Kama from Gandharva's marriage to wedded life as conceived by a South Indian.

Each chapter begins with a small note explaining the context. The background of every couplet is beautifully portrayed.

Though the annotations do not come up to the standard expected of scholars, nor rise to the erudition of Parimēlaḷagar nonetheless the book is of absorbing interest as Kāḷiṅgar is said to be four and Paripperumāḷ two centuries earlier than Parimēlaḷagar of the 13th century and as the origin of modern Tamil prose can be traced to it.

There is a learned Introduction by the Editor who discusses in it the age of the commentators and their comparative merits. Vidwan T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, B.O.L., who is responsible for this work, deserves congratulations for his laudable publication, and honour is due to Sri P. V. Ramanujaswami, the General Editor of the Sri Venkateswara Series, for his abiding interest in Oriental Research.

M. R. J.

Printed by Norman A. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta, and Published by the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

3

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